

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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OCTOBER 1910 TO JULY 1911

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The
American Historical Review

ATHENS AND HELLENISM¹

TO imagine Athens during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. as an object of pity is to ignore the unanimous opinion of contemporary rulers. Neither the defeat on land at Chaeronea, nor the more decisive defeat on sea at Amorgos; neither the murder of Phocion, nor the persecution of Theophrastus; neither the misery of its poor, nor the materialism of its rich, shook in the least its high prestige among the Macedonian generals who had surrounded Alexander.

The reason is not far to seek. With one hundred thousand inhabitants Athens was still the most populous city in the Greek world, as well as the busiest centre of the world's trade. It had never been so beautiful as now; for to the religious edifices of the Periclean age had been added the secular buildings constructed during the administration of Lycurgus—the marble theatre and stadium, the ship-houses and dockyards, the many sightly residences; it was now the greatest museum of the plastic arts in the world—one vast depository of statues of gods and men in marble and bronze, the accumulation of five or six generations of continuous effort; in the suburbs, at the three points most easily accessible from the city, were the gymnasia—courts for exercise and parks for recreation, pleasant retreats from the dust and bustle of the city, places of resort for the idle youth and the idler poor, the busy philosophers and the busier courtesans. Nowhere was there such a theatre and such music, such oratory, rhetoric, and philosophy. There was less homogeneity of culture than in the fifth century B.C., for in the interval an intellectual aristocracy had arisen with scientific interests that the populace did not share; but there was much greater refinement of feeling and elegance of living than ever before, and the

¹ A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, December, 1909.

comedies of Menander, though they conformed in plot, character-study, diction, subject, sentiment, and ideas to the taste of an educated *élite*, brought their rich store of suggestions to the same kind of audience as had greeted Aristophanes. It is not without meaning that in the *Samia* an old nurse is made to quote Euripides's Auge, and in the *Epitrepontes* a slave expounds a new-fangled, modish, rationalistic philosophy; it is not without significance that all the youth of Attica, urban and rustic, rich and poor, educated and less educated, lived together in Athens and in the forts by the harbor and frontiers for the entire period of their nineteenth and twentieth years; it is pregnant with import that both from above and without—for to Athens, as of old, came everybody who had anything new to communicate—a flood of ideas and impressions kept pouring in upon the Athenian populace, to stimulate discussion, compel fresh determinations of the values of human activities, and suggest more adequate universal syntheses. The upper classes sought to impose upon society an ordered propriety, which was irksome though not strait-laced, but they did not practise what they preached, and among the masses much of the old *abandon* persisted, fostered by the democratic inclination to live and let live *ὡς ἕκαστος βούλεται*. Nothing new was sound, nothing old was classic, nothing distinguished was immortal, except it had received the stamp of Athens. "Athens", said the most illustrious of the successors of Alexander, "is the one beacon tower of the world, from which the fame of men is flashed forth to the ends of the earth."

It is doubtful whether Antigonos I. had ever seen Athens with his own eyes, but he was no worse off, probably, than Ptolemy, Seleucus, Ophelas, and Lysimachus, but to all alike had come a glimmer of the wit, gaiety, refinement, and fascination of Athenian life with the famous courtesans—Thais, Glycera, Pythonice, Lamia—whom the spoils of the Persian Empire had attracted to their camps. Hence on settling down in Egypt Ptolemy sought to make Alexandria a new Athens. The *hetaerae* of Athens came without an invitation; the poets and scientists hesitated on receiving one, and a few only eventually accepted. He got the Attic laws with the Attic law-giver Demetrius, and for them he created "guardians" as in Athens. He constructed *phylae* on the Attic plan, and one of the Alexandrian demes was named Sunium. In the vicinity of Alexandria he laid off an Eleusis, and had Timotheus, an Eumolpid, come to inaugurate a branch of the Mysteries there. It was an Athenian, Demetrius, who wrote the hymn-book, and an Athenian, Bryaxis, who created the cult-statue for the new deity Serapis whom he put at the head of the religion in which he sought to unite

all the ethnic elements in his state. That might do for the capital of a satrapy. For the capital of the world, which Antigonus and his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, strove to reunite under one government, more was needed. Hence they sought to make Antigonía—the later Antioch—a new Athens in very truth by transplanting to the Orontes to be its first settlers a colony taken directly from Athens, thus seeking to give an Attic atmosphere to their court in the way adopted three years earlier by Ophelas of Cyrene, who, on starting to join Agathocles for the overthrow of the Carthaginian Empire, took with him an Athenian queen and a large body of Athenian settlers. They were to give a pure Hellenic heart to the great kingdom which he hoped to found in the territory to be conquered in Africa.

There can be little doubt that Athens was regarded by the Macedonian nobles in Alexander's *entourage* as the bearer of the purest Hellenic culture, and that an effort was made to inoculate their new acquisitions with it by colonies judiciously planted.

At the end of the third century B.C.—despite the marvellous rise of Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamum, and the fierce competition of Rhodes, coincident though they were with the commercial and political prostration of Attica—the esteem of Athens and the Athenians was not less in the Hellenistic courts. An intelligent and observant traveller from Asia Minor who visited Attica at about this time writes in the hacked style then common:

Thence to Athens. The road is pleasant, the land all cultivated, the prospect inviting. The city is everywhere dry, water being scarce; and because of its age the streets and blocks are irregular. Most of the houses are mean, the nice ones few. A stranger would doubt, on seeing it first, if this were really the renowned city of the Athenians. After a little, however, he would be convinced. An Odeum, the finest in the world; a notable theatre, large and excellent; a costly temple of Athena, far-visible and well worth a visit, overlooking the theatre—the so-called Parthenon. It makes a great impression upon the spectator. An Olympieum, half finished, but displaying the general plan. It would be the best there is, if it were completed. Three gymnasia—Academia, Lyceum, and Cynosarges—with grounds thickly wooded and grassy, schools of philosophers of every shade of opinion. . . . There are banquets of all sorts, many snares and recreations of the spirit, unceasing shows. . . . Its inhabitants throw open its opportunities freely and are thus kind and helpful to all artists who happen along. The city is an admirable school of sculpture. . . . Some of the people belong to Attica, others are Athenians. The Atticans are inquisitive gossips, insincere, prone to blackmail and to pry into the private affairs of strangers. The Athenians are great-souled, simple in their manners, reliable custodians of friendship. Some informers run about in the city harassing wealthy visitors, but should the *demos* catch them, theirs would be a hard fate. The genuine Athenians are keen art critics and unwearying patrons of

plays, concerts, and lectures. In a word, Athens surpasses other cities in all that makes for the enjoyment and betterment of life by as much as other cities surpass the country. Be on your guard most especially against the courtesans lest you unwittingly meet a pleasant destruction.

The cynosure of Greece was thus Athens still; and the kings of the East and West vied with one another to add brilliancy to its fêtes, gifts to its treasury, and promenades, bazaars, and temples to its squares. To live at Athens was the proper way for a prince to round off his education, and finer qualities of mind and manners were expected of an Athenian scientist than of one from elsewhere. Hence it was not unnatural that, when Antiochus Epiphanes undertook to press more vigorously the measures which his ancestors had taken to insure the domination of Hellenism in Asia, he colonized Antioch anew from Athens, copied Attic institutions and Attic months, bestowed special privileges upon all Athenians resident in his empire, and chose Athens to receive along with Antioch a temple worthy, as Livy says, of the grandeur of Zeus—the deity, manifest in the king's own person, in whose worship he sought to unite his subjects of every race and language.

Rome too succumbed to the estimate current in the world of culture; and, after the final establishment of her hegemony in the East, she singled Athens out for special favors. In return for Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros, and Delos, which she restored to their common metropolis in 166 B.C., she received ten years later her first instruction in art and philosophy from the most eminent sculptors and philosophers of that city. Never had the cultural supremacy of Athens been more unquestioned than in the middle of the second century B.C.

Athens [affirmed the Amphictyonic Council] was the inaugurator of all human blessings, the guide of men from the life of beasts to gentle culture, the establisher, in fact, of the social organism altogether. This service she rendered through the dissemination of her Mysteries which inculcated the sovereign value of mutual aid and confidence among men, and through passing on to others the education and laws with which the gods had dowered her. Grain too, though given to her as her special property, she made everybody's heritage. She originated music and dramatic art, created and developed tragedy and comedy, and first established thymelic and histrionic contests.

This eulogy was embodied in a decree enacted in 117 B.C.; but already at that time men had begun to distinguish the Athenians from their ancestors. It was now that Polybius interpreted the preceding century of Greek history to the disadvantage of Athens, which he represented as a nest of pampered parasites; and the Romans, whose practical sense made it difficult for them to admit

that a people devoid of power might be possessed of virtue, began to treat the Athenians with a condescension allied to contempt which found expression in the memorable remark made by Sulla in 86 B.C. that he had spared the living because of the illustrious dead. A century later an officer high in the service of Tiberius described the inhabitants of Attica as "not Athenians, who have been exterminated by innumerable disasters, but the very dregs of humanity, to whom for a Roman to show courtesies is a dishonor to the Roman name". Athens was never so low in the judgment of its contemporaries as at the time of the first two *princes*.

To trace the attitude of Athens towards the Hellenistic states is of course impossible here—it differed so much at different times and in the case of different dynasties. It will suffice to note that opinion in Athens itself was generally divided; that one faction—the aristocratic or oligarchic—sought a haven for Athens and the government for itself by doing the will of Macedon; while another—that of the *demos*—strove for complete freedom within and complete independence in foreign politics; and a third—that of the moderates—aimed at the isolation of Athens, at securing its autonomy under a sort of international guarantee. Twice in the first century after Philip's death (in 301–295 and in 276–266 B.C.) the faction last mentioned carried its policy into effect by its own strength, but it was not till the *demos* abandoned its imperialistic traditions, during an unhappy generation of dependence upon Macedon (261–230 B.C.), and, taking the form of a tory democracy, accepted the doctrines of the moderates, that internal stability was achieved. The internationalizing of Athens was effected by the agreement of all the powers, the consent of Achaea, Aetolia, Boeotia, Macedon, Pergamum, Crete, Syria, Egypt, and Rome being still a matter of knowledge. The Ptolemies, however, in 224 B.C., made themselves in a special way responsible for the maintenance of the integrity of Athens; but in 200 B.C. Philip of Macedon ignored its neutrality and treated Attica with all the rigor of the new warfare which the Romans had introduced, whereupon the Athenians sent out a cry of horror, which, since the power of Egypt was prostrated in the same year by the great defeat at Panium, helped to bring the Italian Confederation definitely into the East. Rome thereupon became the guarantor of the position of Athens and the upholder of the tory democracy; so that the era of peace and stability was prolonged for almost an entire century. After the time of the Gracchi, however, the contemptuous attitude of the Roman senators and the outrageous behavior of the Roman business men, especially on Delos, alienated the sympathies of the Athenian government and people. At the

same time the division of the Roman aristocracy against itself and the outbreak of the urban proletariat, which accompanied the slave wars, the Teutonic peril, and the revolt of the client states, weakened the prestige of Rome; whereupon a disturbance occurred in Attica also, and a narrow commercial aristocracy seized the government in the hope of improving the conditions of Athenian trade and of preventing the city from breaking loose from Rome. It was the Social War which here as elsewhere fed the hopes of those whom Rome oppressed, and when it became clear that if unaided the Italians must fail to break the power of the common enemy a popular upheaval in Athens hurled the Roman partizans from the seat of power and the city joined Mithradates. Subsequently it was only a Roman municipality.

To trace the change of Athenian institutions under the pressure of Hellenistic ideas is also impossible here; for the development was not without set-backs and was unconscious for the most part, and hence very gradual. It will be sufficient to note that administration by the citizens themselves—be they all the people, or a few, or the men of property—by means of scores of committees constituted (by the lot ordinarily) of new men each year and holding office under the most jealous scrutiny for a single twelvemonth, went eventually out of use. During the storms of the age of the *diadochi*, which was the first critical period in the history of Athenian administration, many old offices were dropped and a few new ones were created to take their place. Athens had to reef sail while passing through the rough seas; besides, she had long had too much canvas for the size of the hull. The term of office, however, was lengthened in one instance only, that of the general superintendent of the administration. Repetition in the tenure of the new offices was generally prohibited; and the safeguards were left so far as possible undisturbed. But popular election was substituted for allotment in the designation of the most important officials, while at the same time the committees were replaced by single magistrates, or, where one was needed for Athens and another for the Piraeus, by two; and, when retained in form, were dissolved in fact in such a way that each member obtained his own department, the only notable exception being that of the archons, whose number was fixed at nine in order to leave unchanged the composition and size of the Areopagite council. The advantages of special fitness and inclination, and of personal liberty and responsibility, for administrative work were thus recognized, and by classifying the governors of the dependencies obtained in 166 B.C. with the military officials, in whose case re-election was always practised, the possibility of utilizing experience

was obtained; but the *demos* made a very sparing use of re-election and exercised the same sharp control over its officials as of old; hence the commercial oligarchy which came to power in 103 B.C. relieved magistrates from the judicial audit and permitted and promoted re-election everywhere, so that henceforth a man could look forward to an extended career in the public service as had been the case in the Hellenistic monarchies from the start.

As is well known, the Hellenistic period opened with a great migration from Greece into the Persian Empire. Hundreds of new *poleis* were founded out of citizens drawn from every part of the Greek world. The growth and prosperity, the very existence in fact, of many of them depended upon their attractiveness to settlers. In these circumstances there could be no thought of illiberality in the granting of civic rights. Hence the franchise was generally thrown open to all worthy comers. Since at the same time Rome put in practice a similar policy in Italy, there came from all quarters pressure on the old city-states of Greece to abandon their civic exclusiveness. This demand did not come alone. Into the new towns were drawn the natives who lived in the vicinity of each, so that their population was far from homogeneous in race and racial customs. A Macedonian who took an Egyptian, an Ionian who took a Syrian, woman to wife must devise a new set of conventions for the performance of their social duties. A Greek girl installed in a new home in Elephantine on the Nile or Seleucia on the Tigris was dependent upon her own resources to a much greater degree than was one who remained at home surrounded by her kinsmen and within easy reach of her natural guardian. She must be given freedom of access to the courts and personal right to hold property without which she would be entirely at the mercy of her husband. In other words, her parents were bound to see that privileges were guaranteed to her in the marriage contract which they would not think of demanding for their daughters who married their neighbors' sons. The instability of life, the enormous increase of opportunity to move from one place to another, made new safeguards of the home advisable. The consequence was that everywhere in the new world the old rules of society were being abandoned and new ones, of which—as in America in similar circumstances—a marked characteristic was an enlargement of woman's liberties, were being formed to take their place. There had been no such occasion for the creation of a new social régime since the seventh century B.C. In Athens there dwelt one alien and at least two slaves to every pair of citizen status, and, since many of them came from the East, the peril of political and social contamination was imminent. And with

it went the even greater danger of religious defilement, for which the conditions were also favorable.

The old deities of Athens were identified with a decaying order, and, though they were kept and sworn by and sacrificed to, they were kept as men keep old finery for which they have no further use, but which they do not care to throw away. The culture, moreover, which became at this time imperial, was under the patronage of deities of human origin—great men, living, like Ptolemy or Antiochus, or departed, like Zeus, Hercules, or Alexander, who could make laws, found cities, and render stable a social order, but who had no power to pardon sins or to solve the mystery of life and death. Accordingly, neither the religion of the city-state nor that of the new monarchies was in a position to offer a genuine religious resistance to the everlasting, omnipotent, universal deities of the Orient, who had never been touched with the frailty of mankind, but who could enter into men in spirit, as they had done in the past, and thus enable a revelation of doctrines, rites, purifications, and hopes, for which the sin- and sorrow-laden craved. Nor was philosophy any longer in a position to uphold the convictions of educated men. Its last word was the scepticism of Arcesilaus and Carneades, which made belief equally possible with disbelief.

Just when we are safest [says Bishop Blougram] there's a sunset touch,

A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,

A chorus ending from Euripides,—

And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears

As old and new at once as nature's self,

To rap and knock and enter in our soul,

Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring,

Round the ancient idol on his base again.

For a long time Athens shrank from the advances of the new world, as Hippolytus from the love of Phaedra. The classical simplicity and restraint in art lived on there for generations, undefiled by the taste for pomp and magnificence, for striking effects in color, size, movement, and feeling, and for truth to nature in all its hideousness, as well as in all its beauty, which pervaded the Hellenistic monarchies. So, too, in politics Athens was distinguished by its conservatism. The oligarchs, on limiting the franchise to a minority in 321 B.C., annulled the grants of citizenship earlier made to foreigners; the moderates twenty years later added to a popular a judicial scrutiny before new citizens could be created; the democrats retained this, and in 229 B.C. fixed a limit to the value of property to be held by such as had passed the double

doors. Hence the contrast was so strong between the treatment of aliens in Athens and in Asia Minor, Antioch, or Alexandria, that towards the end of the third century Heraclides applies to their status the harsh term, slavery. It was not till the middle of the second century B.C. that the Athenians succumbed to the practice of Hellenism, but thereafter the fall from Brahminism was rapid and complete. The Areopagus was spotted with togas before the Mithradatic War, and by the time of Augustus the citizenship of Athens was a marketable commodity.

Instead of emancipating women Athens appointed *gynaeconomi* to restrict and regulate their appearances abroad. Instead of loosening the conventions of social life Athens drafted a new set of sumptuary laws. The precepts of Plato now brought persecution upon his school. The *Polity* of Zeno, in which differences of sex were ignored altogether, his followers sought to disown; and we can still discern in outline the huge mass of abuse which was cast upon the zealots who studied philosophy with Epicurus, or joined the Cynics in their vagabond life. The deadliest limitation imposed upon Menander was that of having to deal with social life and romantic love in a city which lacked them except in the borderland where *monde* and *demi-monde* met. Social disintegration did not take place in Athens till the second century B.C.; and it was not till after 229 B.C. that Athens gave to Cybele, Isis, and Atargatis public recognition and a public priest, so that it was not till then that citizens could form associations of *orgeones* for their worship, or worship them except in conjunction with foreigners in clubs of *thiasotae*. Nor had self-respecting men or women cared to enter the aliens' clubs earlier; for the spirit which brooded over Athens in the early Hellenistic age was that of Lycurgus of Butadae, and his pietism and fanaticism for archaizing had kindled an artificial glow of sentiment on behalf of the deities and cults of the city-state—the political entity which Athens was struggling to preserve. Hence the private religious associations with their grotesque rites and emotional excesses, which earned the scorn of Demosthenes, the sneers of Theophrastus, and the caricature of Menander, were not prohibited of course—for that was impossible—but were put under public control if they met in a public precinct, and put to the need of obtaining a public permit if they proposed acquiring a shrine of their own. They were thus barely tolerated, and to have anything to do with them imperilled social caste. In the second half of the second century B.C., however, these social and religious prejudices were overcome. Not only did the Oriental deities now receive the homage of aristocratic *orgeones*—among whom an occasional foreigner appears—but

Athenians of the best families sought membership in the foreign clubs, and the type of private religious association which multiplied most rapidly was the one in which aliens and citizens could enter freely without prejudice of social or political status. At the same time the Athenian nomenclature became variegated by the adoption of names of eastern deities, contemporary kings or courtiers, and noblemen from Italy—a clear mark both of the weakening of traditions and of social demoralization.

To speak generally. Through the acquisition of Delos Athens escaped from an eddy into the main current of Hellenistic life. The Athenians lost their distinctive characteristics; they adopted foreigners, and foreign names and ways, and thus became in reality and appearance a *conluvies nationum*. They thereupon ceased to receive peculiar honor, which was henceforth reserved for their ancestors.

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL AND THE AFRICAN CRUSADE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the men who prepare the Catholic civilization of the later Middle Ages for that oversea expansion which marks the opening of the modern world, the figure of Prince Henry of Portugal is of commanding importance.¹ The Infant Dom Henrique is, in his measure, one of the central characters of history: to his work of revival and reorganization may be traced back some of the most valuable lines of modern progress, a large part of what is distinctively modern life; in his person, policy, and achievements is concentrated much of what we prize to-day.

Of Dom Henrique, his labors and his aims, we have no such comparatively adequate knowledge, no such authoritative, many-sided, illuminating portraiture as of some other men, some other movements, of less importance and of remoter time. His documents are few: he has left the world no private letters, no formal Apologia, no Memoirs or Recollections, no personal declaration of any sort, worthy of the name, with the exception of his Last Will and Testament,² and of certain statements in certain charters. His biographers, the chroniclers of his explorations, men of limited, sometimes perverted, intelligence, scarcely appear to understand him fully. To a deplorable extent his ideas and policy, to a less degree his actions, must remain obscure. But we know enough to see that he comes at a critical time and plays a decisive

¹ In this paper the following abbreviations are used: "Azurara, Guinea", for G. E. de Azurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné*, edited by Carreira and Santarem (Paris, 1841); "Gomes", for Dr. Schmeller's edition of the text of Diogo Gomes, *De Prima Inventione Guineae*, and *De Insulis primo inventis in Mari Oceano Occidentis* in the *Proceedings of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences*, March 8, 1845 (*Abhandl. d. I. Cl. d. K. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Bd. IV., Abth. III. (A)), especially pp. 17-41; "Alguns Documentos", for *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas* (Lisbon, 1892); "Bullarium", for the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*, edited by Levy Maria Jordão, vol. I. (Lisbon, 1868).

² This is to be found (a) in the collection of Pedro Alvares, MSS. da Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon, vol. III., ff. 42 v., etc.; (b) in vol. 516 of the library of the Torre do Tombo, pp. 1-13 (an almost contemporary manuscript, written before the end of the fifteenth century). It is printed, e. g., in *Archivo dos Açores*, vol. I. (1878), pp. 331-336, and in the Marquez de Souza Holstein's *A Escola de Sagres e as Tradições do Infante D. Henrique (Conferencias Celebradas na Acad. Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, acerca dos Descobrimentos . . . dos Portuguezes na Africa, 1877)*, p. 81, etc.

part. He appears in an age when the West European world is suffering from failure and exhaustion; he renders vital service to that civilization from which have sprung the progressive states, the universal commerce, the liberal society, the humanized and open-eyed intelligence, of modern life.

At the close of the fourteenth century, the external energies of the Catholic nations, which had already experienced so remarkable a development, seem to a great extent paralyzed. To Prince Henry, above all men, is due the revival of those energies which makes the fifteenth century so memorable. Western Christendom, Western civilization, must not forget the silent, thoughtful, untiring leader who restored its fortunes—"unus homo nobis *scrutando* restituit rem." It is he who gives continuity, permanence, and final success to the feeble and decadent movement of oceanic discovery; it is he who starts again, with so different a result, that search for the Indo-African waterway which the Genoese of 1291 had begun. With him commences the effective participation of the centralized, monarchical, Christian states (the larger unities which now supersede the city republics and feudal principalities of earlier time) in that colonial, commercial, and crusading expansion whose burden had hitherto rested partly on volunteer adventurers, partly on the great mercantile communities. The Portuguese Infant makes his nation the pioneer of Europe in its final conquest, by maritime paths, of the outer world.

In Dom Henrique's movement, it is true, we may distinguish various elements, but among these no one perhaps is so important, in the view of his own age, as the crusading. After five hundred years of conflict the Christian states of Spain had finally got the better of the Mussulman in the thirteenth century; now, in the lifetime and mainly through the leadership of the Infant, the activity of this crusade is transferred to that Africa from which Spanish Islam had drawn its strength. To the average Spanish Christian of this age (and how much more to the governor of the Order of Christ?)³ there was hardly any higher duty or more valued privilege

³ As Souza Holstein points out, Prince Henry was technically "ruler and governor", not grand master, of the order. He became "regedor e governador" on the death of Lopo Dias de Sousa in 1418, and held the office for the rest of his life (42 years). But he was never professed, and retained his rights of private property and bequest, as authorized by Pope Eugenius IV. in 1442 (Manuscript Collection of Pedro Alvares, III. 13). His control of the revenues of the order was of great importance to his schemes, and he repaid his debt by lavish grants and costly buildings, as at Thomar, where he constructed a new choir, chapter-house, cloister, and tower, for the mother-house of the brotherhood. "Começou esta conquista [of Guinea] a custa e despeza dos bens e rendas d'esta Ordem", says Pedro Alvares, who as *cartorario* of the order under

than that of carrying on this secular struggle of the Faith, of ensuring a still more complete victory for Christendom. While Prince Henry was still a child, and apparently before the French descent of 1402 on the Canaries, the war-ships of Portugal, sailing against the Saracens to Africa, are said to have made a Portuguese re-discovery of the northernmost of the Canaries, the first Atlantic colony of Europeans in the thirteenth century—Lanzarote Island.⁴

Prince Henry's public life opens with the Ceuta expedition of 1415, of which the "heavens felt the glory, and the earth the benefit";⁵ and among all the enterprises of European states in the later Middle Ages no single one had a more marked crusading character. The appointment of a bishop to the new conquest, the conversion of its great mosque into a cathedral, its defense against the Muslim *jiḥad* of 1418, are all incidents of crusading as well as of national expansion. And the same may of course be said of the Infant's plan of seizing Muslim Gibraltar, only frustrated by stormy weather; of the Moorish prizes captured by his ships at various times, and the descents effected by this navy on the coasts of Barbary and Granada; of the Tangier disaster of 1437; and of the capture of Alcacer the Little, and the other successes of the Morocco campaigns of 1457-1459.⁶

King Manuel re-edited its statutes, and whose collections (in five volumes) are so valuable for the history of Dom Henrique throughout. See Pedro Alvares's collection, III. 1 v., V. 194 v.; Souza Holstein, *Escola de Sagres*, pp. 50-51, 55, 74-75, 78.

⁴"Audivi ego Dioguo Gomez de Sintria quod quaedam caravelae de armata regis Johannis Portugalliae, quae iverant contra Saracenos ad Africam cum vento contrario . . . cucurrerant et viderunt quasdam insulas. Qui . . . iverunt ad . . . unam quae nunc vocatur *Lanzarote*, et invenerunt eam non populatam. Et putabant omnes alias insulas esse non populas. Cessante . . . tormento venerunt Portugalliam narrantes haec regi." Gomes (ed. Schmeller), p. 34.

So Henrique's first recorded armada ("armata", Gomes, p. 18), that under João de Trasto in 1415, accomplished a conquest of the "Telli" (Fertile) district of Grand Canary (Gomes, p. 19, "per vim accepit partem . . . insulae . . . Gran Canaria . . . quae dicebatur . . . *Telli* fructuosa"). Even in 1386 John I. is able to lend the Duke of Lancaster a respectable naval force—six ships and twelve galleys—for the war against Castile (Souza Holstein, *Escola de Sagres*, p. 23; Pinheiro Chagas, *Hist. d. Portugal*, II. 95).

⁵"Naquella muy honrada conquista . . . sobre a grande cidade de Cepta, de cuja famosa victorya os ceos sentirom glorya e a terra beneficio". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., p. 25.

⁶On the see and cathedral of Ceuta, see the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, issued from Constance, April 4, 1417, and addressed to the archbishops of Braga and Lisbon (Arch. Nacional, Coll. de Bullas, maço 11, no. 13), printed in full by Levy Maria Jordão, *Bullarium* (Lisbon, 1868), I. 8; also the bull *Romani Pontificis* of Martin V., issued from Rome, March 5, 1421, and addressed "Aimaro episcopo Ceptensi" (Coll. de Bullas, maço 26, no. 2), printed in full in *Bullarium*, I. 16-17; summarized in *Alguns Documentos* (Lisbon, 1892), p. 1. On the events of 1418, see Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. v., pp. 27-28: "A cidade [Ceuta] livre e repairada [Dom

While the Infant is relieving Ceuta and planning to attack Gibraltar, while his seamen are still working southwards along the Sahara coast, we find Pope Martin V., in 1418, and Pope Eugenius IV., in 1436, calling upon the sovereigns, princes, nobles, and magistrates of Christendom to aid the Portuguese in the extermination of the infidels, to help forward that new crusade which had begun with the conquest of Ceuta.⁷ By the same bulls, all prelates and dignitaries of the Church are commanded to preach this Portuguese enterprise as a crusade and to declare to those who should take part in it the same plenary indulgence accorded to Palestine pilgrims. This appeal by the Universal Bishop to the whole of the Catholic

Henrique] se tornou . . . pera Portugal, nom muy contente . . . porque . . . nom ofereceo o aazo para filhar a villa de Gibaltar [the proper form], como tiinha posto em hordenança, se a principal causa de seu estorvo foe a destemperança do yverno [the winter sea being especially rough near Gibraltar, on account of the currents] . . . por aazo das grandes correntes que ally ha." On Prince Henry's navy and its raids on Barbary and Granada coasts, see *ibid.*, ch. v., pp. 29-30: "Depois que a dicta cidade [Ceuta] foe tomada, continuadamente trouxe navyos armados no mar contra os infiees, os quaaes fezerom muy grande destroyçam na costa daalem e daaquem" [*i. e.*, on both sides of the straits, European and African]. See also *ibid.*, ch. VIII., p. 54, where Azurara notes how Dom Henrique's early maritime expeditions sometimes raided Granada and the Muslim Mediterranean: "huûs hyam sobre a costa de Graada, outros corryam per o mar de Levante, ataa que filhavam grossas presas dos infiees".

As to Tangier, Dom Henrique, commanding at the siege in 1437, found himself in turn besieged by vastly superior Moorish forces, and on October 15 signed a capitulation by which the Portuguese gave up arms, horses, and baggage, embarking for Portugal only with their clothes, as they stood, and undertaking (a) to surrender Ceuta, (b) to keep peace with Barbary for one hundred years. Dom Fernando, with twelve others, was given as a hostage "por salvar o povo miserando". As the home government refused to give up the African Gibraltar, Prince Fernando, "o sancto irmao Fernando", died in captivity at Fez, June 5, 1443, "Só por amor da patria está passando" (*Lusiads*, IV. 52).

In spite of the vote of Cortes in 1438, it is alleged that the crown of Portugal offered Ceuta in exchange for the Infant in May, 1439. King Edward had died September 9, 1438, leaving instructions that the ransom of Dom Fernando was to be secured by this sacrifice, if otherwise impossible. But Henrique had pronounced decidedly against this course, and it was evident that the nation would not have permitted it. See João Alvares, *Chronica dos Feytos, Vida, e Morto de Dom Fernando*, emendada por Fr. Jeronymo de Remos; the *Diccionario Bibliographico* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva (under "J. Alvares" and "J. de Remos"); Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de D. Duarte*, chs. XXI., XLIV.; A. C. de Sousa, *Provas d. Historia Genealogica d. Casa Real Portuguesa*, I. 533, etc.; and R. H. Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (1868), pp. 161-167.

⁷The bull *Rex regum* of Eugenius IV., issued from Bologna, September 8, 1436 (Coll. de Bullas, maço 4, no. 9; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 5), is only a repetition, with the necessary changes, of Martin V.'s *Sane charissimus*, issued from Constance, April 4, 1418, and addressed to patriarchs, bishops, and all prelates and professors of the Christian faith, calling upon them to aid John I. of Portugal, "filius noster Joannes Portugalliae Rex illustris", in his war against the Moors. See *Bullarium*, I. 9-10; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A. D. 1418, §§ 21-23.

world is undoubtedly made at the instance of the Portuguese crown and of Dom Henrique, and is prompted by the Infant's first successes in African conquest and in the coasting of the Dark Continent. It clearly marks the general, European, extra-national character of the undertaking organized and led by Prince Henry, both in Morocco and along the shores of "Guinea"; while at the same time it assures full satisfaction to natural and national ambitions by its declaration that all lands conquered by the kings of Portugal in this adventure should be subject to their crown.

Again, after the triumphs of 1441 and 1442, when the first natives and gold dust had been brought to Europe from the Sahara coast, Prince Henry appeals directly to the whole body of Christian sovereigns for aid in this "discovery and conquest". Nor is this appeal one of mere sentiment. In return for co-operation, Dom Henrique offers to divide his profits with his allies;⁸ neither in the fifteenth nor in the twelfth century are plans of crusade always destitute of a business understanding. But the common action once found attainable is so no longer; the Portuguese offers are everywhere declined; Portugal as a nation must carry on its crusade alone, though volunteers from other countries might flock to its standards. It is now, therefore, that the prince sends his embassy to the Holy See under Lopes d'Azevedo and obtains from the same Eugenius IV. the celebrated bull of December, 1442, granting plenary absolution to all those engaged in the war against the Moors to which the Order of Christ stood committed and to which "our

⁸ See Duarte Pacheco Pereira in *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, written in 1505, forty-five years after Prince Henry's death, when his work had been carried to its conclusion and the Portuguese crusade had reached the Indies. "While the Infant was lying one night in his sleeping chamber, it came to him in revelation how he should do much service to our Lord in discovering the Ethiopias of Guinea, in which region there would be found such a multitude of new peoples and black men as from the time of this discovery we have known, whose color and fashion and mode of life no one could believe, if he had not seen them. . . . The which navigation the Infant began for the service of God from Cape Nam, and as soon as from these realms were brought the first negroes, the Infant wrote to all Christian kings that they should aid this discovery and conquest ["ajudasem a este descobrimento e conquista"] for the service of our Lord, and should equally share all the profit ["e todo o proveyto igualmente o lograssem"], which they would not do ["o que elles nam quiseram fazer"]. After which the Infant sent Fernam Lopez d'Azevedo to Eugenius IV. . . . and obtained the grant from him . . . and other Holy Fathers, of the conquest and commerce of these regions to the end of all India, because by God has been shown to the Infant this marvellous mystery, hidden from all other generations of Christendom." *Esmeraldo*, bk. 1, ch. xxii., in Lisbon Geographical Society's *Boletim*, January, 1904, pp. 19-22. See also Raphael Basto's edition of *Esmeraldo*, p. 37.

beloved son and noble baron Henry", duke of Viseu, and governor of the said order, designed to go in person with his men at arms.⁹

The same note of crusade is repeatedly struck by the pontiffs of the next decades, all contemporaries of the Infant. Thus Nicholas V., in 1452, by the bull *Dum diversas*,¹⁰ authorizes the King of Portugal to make war upon the infidels, to conquer their lands, and to enslave their persons; eighteen months later the same pope expressly forbids any Christians to lend aid to the unbelievers in the lands discovered or subdued by the labors of the Infant Henry.¹¹ Calixtus III., in 1456, takes measures, by the bull *Etsi cuncti*, to defend Ceuta as a crusading stronghold, directing houses of all the four military orders of Portugal to be established in the city, and binding these fraternities, under the severest penalties, to serve here with one-third of their whole force, turn by turn, every year;¹² while a few weeks later, by another bull, he confers the spiritual jurisdiction of all the lands from Cape Nun to India upon the Order of Christ.¹³ At the very end of Prince Henry's life we see the great scholar, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II., commending the Portuguese crusade in Africa, just marked by the capture of Alcacer the Less.¹⁴ And finally, in 1481, Sixtus IV., while confirming the bulls of Nicholas and Calixtus already noticed, repeats the summary of Dom Henrique's work which Nicholas had given in 1454, which Calixtus had reproduced in 1456, and which shows how clearly both the crusading and exploring aspects of the Portuguese movement are appreciated by the supreme tribunal of

⁹ This bull of Eugenius IV. (*Illius qui se*), issued from Florence, December 19, 1442, is abridged in Portuguese by Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xv., pp. 90-92. The complete original may be found in the *Bullarium*, I. 21.

¹⁰ Issued from Rome, June 18, 1452; Coll. de Bullas, maço 29, no. 6; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 14; full text in *Bullarium*, I. 22-23. Santarem, *Prioridade*, p. 26, and note 1 to Azurara, *Guinea*, p. 92, also quotes a bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1450, conceding to Afonso V. all the conquests which Dom Henrique had discovered (Archivo Real d. T. d. Tombo, maço 32 de bullas, no. 10).

¹¹ *Romanus Pontifex, regni caelestis claviger*, issued from Rome, January 8, 1454; Coll. de Bullas, maço 7, no. 29; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 14-20, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 31-34. This bull gives a valuable sketch of Prince Henry's work, its motives and results, which is copied by Calixtus III. in 1456, and by Sixtus IV. in 1481. See note 16, below.

¹² Issued from Rome, February 16, 1456; Gaveta 7^a, maço 7, no. 23; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 20.

¹³ *Inter caetera*, issued from Rome, March 13, 1456; Mestrados, f. 163, and Gaveta 7^a, maço 13, no. 7; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 20-22, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 36-37. This quotes the bull of Nicholas V. of January 8, 1454, and confirms it.

¹⁴ Bull *Nuper pro parte*, issued from Mantua, October 13, 1459, Coll. de Bullas, maço 27; text in *Bullarium*, p. 38; the same subject-matter is summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 25-26, as an abstract of a bull *Intenta salutis*.

Latin Christendom both before and after the prince's death. For it was, in the view of all these pontiffs, with the purpose of joining hands and forming alliance against the Saracens with the Indians who were said to worship Christ¹⁵ that Henry had explored so untiringly and so victoriously the seas of the South and East, towards the Antarctic Pole.¹⁶ Such a crusade as Nicholas and Sixtus here suggest—a crusade as real as any of the eleventh or twelfth centuries—was deliberately undertaken and obstinately maintained by the Portuguese of the sixteenth century, when they at last had broken into the long closed Muslim seas of East Africa and the Indies.

The crusading side of Prince Henry's movements is no less clearly emphasized by those chief contemporary writers¹⁷ from whom

¹⁵ This should refer either to the Christians of Abyssinia and other East African regions (Socotra, Nubia), or to those of India proper, with whom the Roman missionaries had come in contact or whom they had won over during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Among other results of the overland expansion of Latin Christianity between 1220 and 1350, communities of Roman converts were formed in the neighborhood of Madras, of Bombay, and of Kulam or Quilon in Malabar. The papal archives contained and contain various reports of, and references to, these Roman colonies, and this fact may well be at the root of the passages here noticed. See *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 215-235.

¹⁶ This bull, *Eterni regis clementia*, was issued from Rome, June 21, 1481; Coll. de Bullas, maço 29, no. 6; full text in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 47-55, and in *Bullarium*, pp. 47-52. On this bull, and especially its early Portuguese translation, by Vasco Fernandez, of John II's council, see Souza Holstein, *A Escola de Sagres*, p. 75.

¹⁷ Especially by Azurara, in the *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*, which, here as elsewhere, is to a great extent a reproduction of the lost narrative of Dom Henrique's sailor-chronicler, Affonso Cerveira, the *Historia da Conquista dos Portuguezes pela Costa d'Africa* (see R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. x, edition of 1868). A copy either of Cerveira's original or of Azurara's redaction seems to have been given by Prince Henry himself to one of the kings of Naples (Alfonso I. [?], 1442-1458, or Ferdinand I. [?], 1458-1494; see Fr. Luis de Souza, *Historia de S. Domingos*, P. I., bk. vi., ch. xv., p. 629, edition of 1767; Santarem, *Quadro Elementar*, I. 358; R. H. Major, *Henry the Navigator*, p. xii, edition of 1868). Azurara's *Guinea Chronicle* officially ends with the year 1448, and the author tells us in ch. xcvi. (the final postscript) that he finished the writing of it on February 18, 1453. But it appears to contain some additions made after Dom Henrique's death in 1460. For centuries it disappeared. Thus even Damião de Goes, 1501-1573, was never able to meet with it (*Chronica do Principe D. João*, ch. vi.). The only complete manuscript now known, that in the National Library at Paris (MSS. Portugais, no. 41), was rediscovered by Ferdinand Denis in 1837 and re-edited by Carreira and Santarem in 1841 ("dada pela primeira vez a luz per diligencia do Visconde de Carreira, Enviado Extraordinario . . . de S. Majestade Fidelissima na corte da França; precedida de uma Introducção, e illustrada com . . . Notas, pelo Visconde de Santarem"). All references are to the chapters and pages as they appear in this edition. The *Chronicle of Ceuta* (*Chronica del Rei D. Joam I. . . Terceira Parte em que se contem a Tomada de Ceuta*), begun in the autumn of 1449 and finished on March 25, 1450, has also much to say about Prince Henry's crusading

one must necessarily draw most of the material for any appreciation of the Infant's character and undertakings. Thus they are careful to record how Dom Henrique, taking so much pleasure in the labor of war, especially against the enemies of the Faith,¹⁸ was moved to command the search for the lands of Guinea, among other reasons, by the natural desire of a wise man to find out the strength of his enemy.¹⁹ During all the years that he had waged his cruel war²⁰ against the Muslims of Africa and of Granada (ever challenging and hurling defiance at the Moors, as his Venetian servant puts it), he had sought in vain for the Christian friends and helpers of whom the pontiffs speak—for the “one Christian King”, the “one lord outside this land”, who for the love of Christ would aid him in this war.²¹ Yet to find such an ally remained the object of his unwearied search, and in the half-true tale of Prester John, the priest-king cut off by a waste of heathendom from the main body of the Faithful, but staunchly upholding the faith of the Cross in the depths of the East, he gained an inspiration. He rejoiced at news of fresh discoveries in 1441 which seemed to bring him nearer “to the Indies and to the land of Prester John”.²² Since the early fourteenth century, the tradition which at first referred only to a Tartar chieftain (apparently in the neighborhood of Lake Baikal) is gradually transferred to the Negush of Abyssinia, and it is probably this potentate, however vaguely understood, whom Dom Henrique seeks under the name of “Preste João”. And, failing the Prester, he catches eagerly at any tale of a Christian prince in Guinea. Thus in 1446 he sends an expedition to Cape Verde, having heard

activity. The material for this narrative was mainly supplied to Azurara by Dom Pedro, “the great regent”, and by Dom Henrique himself. With the latter the historian stayed some days, by express order of King Affonso V.; “he knew more about the affair than anybody in Portugal” (*Ceuta Chronicle*, ch. xii.). We know that Azurara makes Henrique the leading figure in the storming of “a forte Ceita”. “The same circumstance is noticeable in the *Chronica de D. Duarte*, begun by Azurara, and finished by Ruy de Pina.” See Mr. Prestage's introduction in the English edition of Azurara's *Guinea* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1896), vol. I., pp. viii, liv-lv.

¹⁸ “Specialmente contra os inimigos da santa fe”. Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. iv., p. 24.

¹⁹ “Porque todo sesudo, per natural prudencia, he costringido a querer saber o poder de seu imiigo”. *Ibid.*, ch. vii., p. 46.

²⁰ “Mortos per tua lança, pella guerra muy cruel, que lhe sempre fezeste”. *Ibid.*, ch. ii., p. 15.

²¹ “Nunca achou rey christiaão, nem senhor de fora desta terra, que por amor de . . . Jhũ Xpõ o quyesse aa dicta guerra ajudar”. Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. vii., p. 47.

²² “Nom soamente daquella terra [Sahara and Sudan] desejava daver sabedoria, mas ainda das Indyas, e da terra de preste Joham”. *Ibid.*, ch. xvi., p. 94.

that the king of that land was a Christian, inviting this potentate, "if he truly held the law of Christ", to aid in the war against the Moors, in which "the King of Portugal and the Infant were continually toiling".²³

In the earlier Portuguese expeditions along the African mainland, and especially from 1435 to 1445, the crusading spirit is constantly, not to say brutally, prominent. The pioneers of this time ("the Christians", in the clear and simple language of the *Chronicle of Guinea*), "sent out to do service to God and to the Infant", sailing under the banners of the Order of Christ and mindful how the governor of that order "toiled every day more and more in the war against the Moors", not only raid the "tawny Saracens" of the Sahara to obtain guides and interpreters for future progress, but fight, kill, burn, sack, capture, and destroy, with all the zeal of a holy war.²⁴ Thus "our Lord God, Who giveth a reward for every good, willed that for the toil they had undergone in His service they should obtain victory over their enemies", says Azurara of the earliest successful slave-hunting in the Bight of Arguim.²⁵ When the battle was over, all praised God for such a victory, "for that he had deigned to give such help to a handful of His Christian people";²⁶ "He from Whom cometh down every good thing" was pleased that the Christians should at last have complete victory over their enemies,²⁷ the historian records in other places. "God knoweth our wills in His Holy service", one of the Infant's captains tells his men, in this same Bight of Arguim, as they approach a shore lined with hostile natives; "should we not do battle with these Moors, we should make them full of courage against all others of our Law."²⁸ The men of Portugal, who kept their armed cruisers in

²³ "Porque lhe afirmavam que era xpaão". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xciv., p. 442.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. xxi., p. 121: "os xpaãos"; ch. xix., p. 107: "partidos de nossa terra afym de fazermos serviço a Deos, e ao Iffante nosso senhor"; ch. xxiv., p. 130: "por serviço de Deos e vosso"; ch. xviii., p. 106: "bandeiras com a cruz da ordem de Jhũ Xpõ, das quaaes mandou que levasse cada hũa caravella sua"; ch. xxvii., p. 185: "postas as bandeiras da Ordem de Xpõ em seus navyos"; ch. xlix., p. 230: "trabalhaaes cada huũ dya mais na guerra destes Mouros"; the same claim is made, in the same speech, for the men of Lagos: "sempre serviram e servem com seus corpos e navyos na guerra dos Mouros", p. 229.

²⁵ Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xix., p. 111.

²⁶ "Sua pouca gente xpaã". *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁷ "Aquelle do que Santyago disse, que decendya todo bem . . . ouvesse comprida vitorya". *Ibid.*, ch. xxiii., pp. 127-128.

²⁸ "Deos . . . sabe nossas voontades acerca de seu santo serviço . . . faremos corações contra quaaesquer outros de nossa ley". *Ibid.*, ch. xlv., p. 215.

Gibraltar Strait and Mediterranean waters,²⁹ were they to fear fight with the Moorish knaves of Arguim?

And for those who fell in this crusade, whose bodies, as we read after one disaster, "remained among the thickness of the trees, while their souls departed to behold the things of the other world",³⁰ the blessed future of the sanctified is confidently invoked. "Dying in the service of God and of their Lord, their death was happy"; "blessed are the dead that die in the Lord"; "may God receive their souls in the habitation of the Saints"; "may He take to Himself the nature that came forth from Him, for it is His very own."³¹ And so the chronicler will not lament too bitterly the fate of one of the chief exploring leaders, the brilliant Nuno Tristam, laid low by poisoned arrows, lest he should seem to covet the honor of one "whom God had pleased to make a sharer in His immortality".³² Had not the papacy, five hundred years before, proclaimed officially that all those Christians who died fighting in the Church's cause, were, without further question, assured of salvation?³³

And if the eternal welfare of crusaders was a certainty, the converse was equally true. Azurara is moved half to compassion, half to contempt, by the folly of the Moors, so blindly attached to their delusions as actually to fight against their real benefactors, but destined in a very brief space of time to learn the error of their sect in the life beyond the grave to which the Christians would dispatch them.³⁴

The Portuguese seamen, at times, in the fervor of the Sacred

²⁹ "Trazem navyos armados no estreito de Cepta, e . . . per todo o mar de Levante". *Ibid.*, ch. XLV., p. 216.

³⁰ "Ally fycarom os corpos daquelles mortos antre a espessura daquellas arvores, e as almas forom veer as cousas do outro mundo". *Ibid.*, ch. LXXXVIII., p. 416.

³¹ Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. XXXVI., pp. 404-405: "*Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur . . . pois em serviço de Deos e de seu senhor morrerom, bem aventurada he a sua morte*"; ch. XLVIII., p. 226: "*cujas almas Deos . . . receba no lugar dos sanctos*"; ch. XXVII., p. 145: "*habeat Deus animam quam creavit et naturam quod suum est.*"

³² "Que a deos prouve fazer participador da sua inmortalidade". *Ibid.*, ch. LXXXVI., p. 399.

³³ On this declaration of Pope John VIII., ca. 880, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 117-118.

³⁴ "Em breve conhecerom o erro de sua seyta". Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. LXIV., p. 311. Another stroke of crusading humor is in ch. LXV., p. 316, where some Moors, unconscious of the Portuguese ambush, start on a journey, "not knowing how long it was to be" ["trabalhavam de partyr, mas nom cuidavam que pera tam longe"]—to another world. "Oo e se assy fora que em aquestes que fogyam ouvera huñ pequeno de conhecimento das cousas mais altas; . . . aquella . . . triganca que levavam fogindo, trouveram por se viir pera onde salvassem suas almas." *Ibid.*, ch. LXV., p. 318.

War, take into their mouths the very language of the Chosen People, and, thirsting for a fresh encounter with the Muslim, call upon Almighty aid for that flood-tide which nature was delaying. If God, they cried, had once made clear the way for the children of Israel through the Red Sea and had turned back the sun at the prayer of Joshua, could he not show as great a favor to his Christian people,³⁵ and make the waters of Arguim Bay to rise before their time?

Surely it is Prince Henry the Crusader, as much as Prince Henry the Navigator, who enlists the services of such foreigners as the Scandinavian "Vallarte", his ambassador to the supposititious Christian monarch near Cape Verde; it is to a crusading hero that the Pope and the Emperor and the kings of Castile and of England must have offered, as the *Guinea Chronicle* declares, the captaincy of their armies, or a high command in the same.³⁶

The leaders of progress are never without their own teachers and precursors, and Dom Henrique, in leading a Catholic attack against the Muhammadan powers of Northwest Africa, is to some extent a follower of St. Louis and of Raymond Lull. The French king, to whom Prince Henry in his will professes a peculiar and lifelong devotion,³⁷ had attacked Tunis in 1271 on the Seventh Crusade, not merely in imitation of Italian republics at war with Barbary, but also with the hope of beginning the overthrow of Islam and the deliverance of the Holy Land from this most assailable quarter, lying nearest of Muhammadan lands to the main body of Catholic Europe. In pursuit of the same policy, a few years later, the great Catalan schoolman had recommended a steady eastward movement against the Mussulman world, commencing with Granada, crossing the Straits to Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, and thence proceeding along the south Mediterranean shore-lands to encounter the central Muslim power in Egypt.³⁸

All Spanish Christians shared the fear of yet another such revival of Islamic power in Spain (still surviving in the Granada kingdom) as had been effected by African invasion in the eleventh and twelfth, as had been defeated in the thirteenth and fourteenth, centuries. A successful crusade in Moroccan and Saharan lands would render such a movement almost impossible in the future, would

³⁵ "Esta tua gente". *Ibid.*, ch. LV., p. 253.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. xciv., pp. 441-449; ch. vi., p. 40.

³⁷ "Meu sñor São Luís a que des minha nacença fui encomẽdado". See the text of the will as printed in vol. I., p. 331, of *Arquivo dos Açores*; and in Souza Holstein, *A Escola de Sagres*, p. 81.

³⁸ Cf. *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 311.

completely isolate the Granada Mussulmans from the rest of Islam, and would prepare the way for the final recovery of all Andalus. In the earlier stages of his enterprise Prince Henry perhaps considered the war in Marocco and the conquest of "Guinea" to be merely two sides of the same enterprise—both essential to establishing that Christian dominion in Northwest Africa which would give to the Catholic world a decisive advantage over its rival. The gradual realization of the southerly prolongation of the continent showed the inadequacy of earlier conceptions; Guinea proved to be more than an appendage to Marocco; and an effective Portuguese occupation of the West African interior turned out to be a dream.

Yet, when the Infant died, and for more than a decade afterwards (till 1471), the crusade in Marocco was still prosecuted with as much vigor as if this dream were a reality, and we meet with fresh examples of a type of papal document with which we are already familiar, ordering the erection of cathedrals in the newly conquered cities, such as Alcacer or Tangier, and laying upon the military orders of Portugal the duty of guarding such new conquests under pain of forfeiting their whole position in the hierarchy.³⁹

With King John II. (1481-1495) the exploring movement itself—as if conscious of its nearer approach to another Muslim world on the other side of Africa—seems to resume something of its crusading pretensions, its warlike armor. Hopes of finding Prester John and attaining great things by his alliance are hotly revived in 1486, on the eve of the discovery of the Cape, by d'Aveiro's report of one King Ogane, a Christian at heart, ultimately reduced to the more modest dimensions of an ordinary heathen negro, somewhere in the hinterland of the Bight of Benin. At the same time attempts are made to revive the Marocco enterprise as a Catholic crusade under Portuguese leadership. Thus, in this same momentous year of 1486, the papacy appeals afresh to all faithful Christians to aid King John with their persons, their substitutes, or their moneys, in those African conquests which so truly constituted a crusade, but for which his own revenues did not suffice.⁴⁰

³⁹ See the bulls of Pius II., April 23, 1462 (*Etsi cuncti*, in Coll. de Bullas, maço 27; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 30-31), and of Sixtus IV., August 21, 1472 (*Clara devotionis*, in Coll. de Bullas, maço 35, no. 26; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 36).

⁴⁰ See the bull *Orthodoxae fidei* of Innocent VIII., issued from Rome, February 18, 1486, and appealing to all Christians, and especially to the Portuguese. Coll. de Bullas, maço 26, no. 16; summarized in *Alguns Documentos*, p. 57.

Is it necessary to recall how high burned the fires of crusading passion, heroism, and cruelty in that memorable struggle of Christian Portugal against Southern Islam which raged in East African and Indian seas and coasts through the last years of Columbus's life, and so long after? At any rate, we must not forget how fully, here as elsewhere, the Portuguese movement of the fifteenth century anticipates the Admiral. To him the idea of crusade is part of his very life. Not only is it his constant purpose to establish the military supremacy of the Catholic faith in those new lands of his we call America, but the dream of the recovery of the holy places of Syria was no dream to him. When he started to discover the Indies, as his will tells us, he designed that all revenue accruing to the Spanish sovereigns through his discoveries should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem; when he made this testament (on February 22, 1498) they had as yet done nothing; Columbus still hoped for better things; but, in the last resort, if Castile and Aragon were still deaf to the cause of the Holy City, then he lays it upon his heir to perform this conquest, alone if need be, all if it might be, and if not all, then whatever part he could.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

THE CREDIBILITY OF MARAT

ALL biographies of Marat which have any value, and notably those of Bougeart and Chevrement, suffer from one serious defect. They are written for the most part from material furnished by Marat, and this material is accepted without any attempt to criticize it. Both Bougeart and Chevrement have accepted Marat's assertions without hesitation, even on points where contradictory evidence is accessible. No biography written in this fashion can be sound. All other biographers of Marat do one of two things; either they follow the old traditions, or else they accept Bougeart and Chevrement, in either case quite uncritically.

A critical examination of Marat's statements, especially of those he made about himself, is difficult, because there is usually no way of testing them. This is true for the material relating to the period before the Revolution, because at that time Marat was not prominent enough to lead his contemporaries to examine his statements critically; and it is true of the material relating to the later period, because all who wrote on Marat then were either his blind admirers or his passionate enemies. In either case, their evidence is by itself utterly worthless.

In these conditions it is desirable to determine Marat's credibility wherever it is possible to do so. If we find him veracious and accurate in cases where we can control his statements, it will be allowable to trust him where control is impossible. On the other hand, if in these circumstances we find him lacking in accuracy or in veracity, we shall be bound henceforth to reject his unsupported assertions. If that is the case, Marat's life still remains to be written.

An opportunity to test Marat's accuracy and veracity in matters in which he was directly concerned is afforded by his account of a minor episode in his life. Marat published in 1774, at London, an anonymous political pamphlet called *The Chains of Slavery*.¹ This

¹ *The Chains of Slavery, a work wherein the clandestine and villainous attempts of Princes to ruin Liberty are pointed out, and the dreadful scenes of Despotism disclosed. To which is prefixed, an Address to the Electors of Great Britain, in order to draw their timely attention to the Choice of proper Representatives in the next Parliament. Vitam impendere vero.* (London, 1774, royal quarto, pp. xvi, 259.)

Marat's claim to be the author of this pamphlet has been frequently ques-

pamphlet he afterwards republished in a French version at Paris, in 1793.² In doing this he prefixed to the French version the his-

tioned since the Revolution, notably by Michelet. Now, it is as certain as anything of the sort can be that the book is Marat's, for he reissued it in 1775 at Newcastle with his name on the title-page. (See *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend* for April, 1887, p. 51, quoting notices in the *Newcastle Chronicle* for October 21, 28, and November 4, 1775.) No one of his contemporaries ever contested his claim. Moreover, the book was certainly written by some one whose customary speech was French. Witness the following sentences: "The eagerness of being respected, Princes have extended to their civil officers; less attentive to display in the persons of magistrates, the ministers of the laws, than men constituted in dignities" (*Chains*, p. 13). This cryptic saying is clear enough in the French version (*Les Chaines de l'Esclavage*, p. 59). "Men arrayed with honours and constituted in power" (*Chains*, p. 64), where we have the same use of the word "constitute". "Mercenary scribblers" who "are engaged for attempting to vindicate the proceedings of administration, for aspersing popular men" (*Chains*, p. 87), where the meaning conveyed at first sight is opposed to the meaning intended. He asserts that the prince "attempts to recall affairs into dispute" (*Chains*, p. 91), where "recall into dispute" is plainly a translation of *révoquer*. "Instead of concurring to the public welfare" (*Chains*, p. 22) is certainly not forcible or clear English, but it translates word for word into excellent French ("au lieu de concourir au bien public" (*Les Chaines*, p. —). He uses "research" for to search out (*Chains*, p. 54); "regal" for royal (*Chains*, p. 92); four times over "might" for may (*Chains*, pp. 14, 34, 149); twice "salary" in the sense of wages (*Chains*, pp. 31, 36); "unshaven" where he means bearded (*Chains*, p. 14); "abjection" for abjectness (*Chains*, p. 259); and "attractives" for attractions (*Chains*, p. 18). These are but a few of many instances, but they will suffice to show that the book was the work of a man who habitually spoke French. Again, Marat was in England in 1774, and he wrote several other pamphlets and books in English both before and after that date (*An Essay on the Human Soul*, London, 1772; *A Philosophical Essay on Man, being an attempt to investigate the Principles and Laws of the reciprocal influence of the Soul and Body*, London, 1773, 2 vols.; *An Essay on Gleets*, London, 1775; and *An Enquiry into the Nature, Cause, and Cure of a Singular Disease of the Eyes*, London, 1776). The English of these books shows similar deviations from correct usage. (See a review of the *Essay on the Human Soul* in the *Monthly Review*, of London, vol. XLVI., p. 254, March, 1772. See also Marat's medical pamphlets on *Gleets* and on a *Singular Disease of the Eyes*, reprinted by James B. Bailey, London, 1891.) Finally, there is one slight piece of evidence which points directly at Marat as the author. His hatred of academicians is well known. Now in *The Chains of Slavery* academicians are twice mentioned, and both times in a derogatory manner (pp. 125, 189). I conclude that the book is certainly Marat's, although I am satisfied that one portion of it was not originally written by him.

² The French version contains a great deal more matter than the English one, and this matter is disposed in the various chapters in a very different manner. Again Marat prefaced his French version with the story of the English one. Finally he set apart one portion of the English version as a separate essay in the French version. The English edition is a royal quarto of xvi plus 259 pages, while the French version is an octavo of 364 pages. The octavo page of the French version contains more matter than the quarto page of the English version, eight pages of the French book being equivalent to nine pages of the English one. Speaking broadly, the French version contains half again as much matter as the English one. The English version consists of "An Address to the

tory of the circumstances in which the English book was written and published. I know of nothing else of Marat's which furnishes us with a better means of determining his credibility as a witness in regard to events with which he must have been perfectly familiar.

His story of the circumstances connected with the writing and the publication of the English version is briefly as follows: Parliament was nearing its end in 1774 and new elections were approaching. In order to convince the electors of Great Britain of the necessity of electing enlightened and virtuous men to the next Parliament, Marat felt that they must be aroused from their lethargy. Hence he wrote *The Chains of Slavery*. That his appeal might be more forcible, he drew almost all his examples and illustrations from the history of England. "To devour thirty mortal volumes, to make extracts from them, to adapt them to the work, to translate and to print it, all this was a matter of three months." During this time he worked regularly twenty-one hours a day, taking scarcely two hours for sleep. The book once in the printer's hands, he fell into "a species of annihilation", losing his memory and the use of all his intellectual faculties. For thirteen days he remained in this piteous condition, being finally aroused from it "only by the aid of music and repose". As soon as he had recovered, he hastened to learn the fate of his book. To his surprise, he discovered that it was not yet published. None of the publishers had announced the book in the newspapers and several refused to place it on sale, notably Becket, bookseller to the Prince of Wales. Marat rushed to the newspaper offices and offered to pay for notices announcing his book, going so far as to offer ten guineas instead of the customary price of five shillings. It was all in vain. Everyone refused to publish a notice, and no one gave any reason, excepting Woodfall, who said that "The Address to the Electors of Great Britain", prefixed to the book, might be the cause for the refusals.

Marat was convinced that printer, publishers, and journalists

Electors of Great Britain", xvi pages, the table of contents, iv pages, an introduction, 4 pages, and "The Chains of Slavery", 255 pages. The French version begins with a "notice", containing the history of the English version, 12 pages. This is followed by the "Address to the Electors of Great Britain", 6 pages; then comes the introduction, of 4 pages; then "Les Chaines de l'Esclavage", 300 pages; then a "Tableau des vices de la Constitution angloise, présenté en août 1789 aux États-Généraux, comme une série d'écueils à éviter dans le Gouvernement qu'ils vouloient donner a la France". This again is divided into a "Lettre de l'auteur au Président des États-Généraux", August 23, 1789, 5 pages; a "Discours adressé aux Anglois le 15 avril 1774, sur les vices de leur Constitution, et les moyens d'y remédier", 27 pages; and a "Discours adressé aux Anglois le 1 août 1774".

were all bribed, and Becket's haste to remove his name from the list of publishers brought Marat to the conclusion that Lord North was guilty of the bribery. The minister was alarmed lest the book should cost him his majority in the next House of Commons and spent forty thousand dollars to prevent its issue until after the elections. Marat's printer warned him that the book might make him a great deal of trouble. Hereupon Marat, remembering Wilkes, slept for six weeks with a brace of pistols under his pillow, resolved to greet in a fitting fashion the messenger who should come to search his papers. He never came. Lord North, instructed as to Marat's character, adopted ruse instead of violence. Indignant at his failure to get the book before the public, Marat sent almost the entire edition to the patriotic societies of the north of England. The minister discovered this, and now set spies on Marat. These secured influence with his host and with his servant, and got possession of all his correspondence. The total stoppage of his letters revealed the state of affairs. In order to escape the surveillance of the ministerial emissaries, Marat withdrew to Holland, and thence returned directly to the north of England. While in the north, he visited the patriotic societies to which he had sent copies of his book, remaining three weeks at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle. There all the plots of the minister were revealed to him. Three of the societies had sent him letters of affiliation in a golden box, which had been forwarded to one of his publishers. An emissary of the minister, by using Marat's name, had secured this treasure from the publisher. The society at Newcastle, unwilling that he should be at the sole expense of his work, paid the cost themselves, and also issued a new edition, "which they scattered throughout the three kingdoms".

Marat's triumph was complete but tardy, for Lord North had succeeded in suppressing his book until after the elections. Nevertheless, Marat did not fail entirely in his object, "which was the reform of the capital vices of the constitution", for there was a general "fermentation" among the public. The reason for this was that Marat had suggested reforms in his book: the abolition of rotten boroughs; the transfer to Parliament of the royal privilege to create peers; a place bill; and the verification of the treasury accounts on the call of three members of the lower house. The public desired above all a more equal representation of the people. This desideratum became the favorite toast in the popular societies. The question was debated in Parliament, but the bill was not passed.

Nevertheless, the bill to exclude from Parliament persons holding places under the government passed in full.³

What truth is there in this story?

Marat did not draw almost all his illustrations from English history. A mere count of the illustrations used proves that two-thirds of them were from the history of other countries.

Marat's assertion that the newspapers refused to print notices announcing the publication of his book, although he offered as much as ten guineas for such a notice, is untrue. *The Chains of Slavery* is announced in the *London Magazine* for April, 1774,⁴ and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Public Advertiser*, and the *Scot's Magazine* for May, 1774.⁵

Marat's story of the suppression of the book is also false. Becket may have withdrawn as one of the publishers,⁶ but the book was also on sale by Almon, by Payne, and by Richardson and Urquhart. None of these withdrew, or Marat would have told us so. The book must have been placed on sale, therefore. If so, how could Lord North suppress it? He might have done so by buying up the edition, but this he did not do. Or he might have attempted to stop the sale by judicial process, but there is no mention of any such attempt. I can think of no other method by which he could have succeeded in suppressing the book. Certainly Lord North's emissaries could not have gone to Almon's shop and prevented individuals from buying the work. Moreover, Marat says that he sent "almost the entire edition" as presents to the patriotic societies of the north of England. Now, if he did anything of the sort, he gave the book a large circulation, and there could be no suppression of it when once in the hands of those societies. But Marat's memory must be faulty when he says that he did this because of

³ "Passa en plein". "Lettre de l'auteur au Président des États-Généraux", April 23, 1789, in *Les Chaines de l'Esclavage*, pp. 327-328. Part of Marat's narrative is taken from this letter.

⁴ Vol. XLIII., p. 200. Announced as on sale by Almon.

⁵ The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XLIV., p. 229. Announced as on sale by Becket. Merivale, *Historical Studies*, "A Few Words on Junius and on Marat", p. 202, cites the notices in the *Advertiser* and the *Scot's Magazine*.

⁶ Becket's name does not figure on the title-page of the British Museum copy, or on that of the Cornell University copy, though Becket is mentioned as publisher in several of the notices. It is possible, therefore, though not certain, that he did not remain on the list of publishers. Marat virtually says that the book was published: "The haste which Mr. Becket, bookseller to the Prince of Wales, showed, when the book appeared, to have his name struck from the list of publishers, put me on the right track." Merivale, noting this lack of consistency with the rest of the story, corrects Marat, saying "should appear, seemingly" (Merivale, *Historical Studies*, p. 200). But I have no doubt that Marat was right in putting the verb in the past tense.

his indignation at the successful suppression of his book, for he sent these copies of his book to the northern societies in the month of May,⁷ and the book was not published earlier than May. The time between publication and the sending of the copies north was entirely too short to permit the author to know that the edition was not going to sell. Finally, there is evidence that the book appeared probably in May, for it was reviewed in at least two of the monthly magazines for June. The *Monthly Review* contained a brief and very hostile notice,⁸ and the *London Magazine* lauded and quoted the book through two pages of small type in double columns.⁹ The book was published, then, and in plenty of time for the elections, since the Parliament sitting early in 1774 was not dissolved until September 30, and the elections took place not earlier than November 29.

If the story of the suppression is false, it follows that the statement that Lord North spent forty thousand dollars for the suppression is also false. This is a detail, which probably Marat believed, but which only shows his incapacity to see things in their proper light when he was himself concerned. Supposing even that it had been possible for Lord North, by such an expenditure, to compass the suppression of the book, who can believe that he would have spent forty thousand dollars of the king's money on such an object? Forty thousand dollars would have been spent much more effectively for his purpose in the purchase of votes. The statement that he feared the influence of the book in determining the elections is absurd, for there is nothing in *The Chains of Slavery* which would justify such a fear. There are no personal attacks. The arguments are for the most part general in character and deal with abstract considerations, fulminating against tyranny, luxury, political corruption, and standing armies. No such diatribes could terrify an English politician of the eighteenth century. Not even the "Address to the Electors", which Woodfall is reported to have said might explain the suppression, contains anything which would excite panic in the breast of Lord North.

The story about the spies is almost certainly false, unless the rest is true. If the book was on sale, what could they be employed to do? Marat may have seemed to Lord North a dangerous foreigner who needed watching, but it hardly seems possible. Lord North may have interfered with Marat's correspondence, but it is difficult to believe that he would retain possession of it. As Marat says, the

⁷ Arrived in Newcastle, May 27. See note 10, below.

⁸ Vol. L., p. 491.

⁹ Vol. XLIII., pp. 286-288.

failure to receive any letters naturally led him to suspect that his mail was seized, and put him on his guard. But then the minister would know that this would be the result, and if he hoped to discover anything of importance from Marat's correspondence, he would never have retained letters which had nothing to tell, and probably would have taken copies of those which were important, returning the originals to Marat.

What was Marat's motive in telling this story of ministerial persecution? It is plain enough that such a story told to Frenchmen in 1793 would enhance the reputation of Marat in France. He gave another proof that, as he says, he had always been "the apostle, and sometimes the martyr, of liberty". Moreover, the account would seem both probable and reasonable to Frenchmen, because a book of the character of *The Chains of Slavery*, if published in France in 1774, would have caused a sensation and would have drawn upon the author the hostile attention of the government. Attempts would have been made to suppress it, and the author might well have been imprisoned for his pains.

The account of Marat's relations to the northern societies is part false, part true. Marat did send copies of his book to the northern societies.¹⁰ He was unable to sell his book, because of Lord North's hostility, he tells us, and so he sent "almost the entire edition" to the societies of the north of England. It has been already shown that this could not be strictly true, because the presentation copies arrived in Newcastle in May. I now wish to point out that to the three societies in Newcastle, he sent exactly six copies.¹¹ There is no reason for supposing that he sent more than two copies each to the other societies, which could hardly be more important than the Newcastle ones. Consequently, either he did not send "almost the entire edition" or else the edition was an extremely limited one.

Marat's assertion that the northern societies sent him letters of affiliation in a golden box is not credible. Their copies of *The Chains of Slavery* came to them "from an unknown person in London",¹² and it would be very strange indeed if they were to

¹⁰ "Yesterday [May 27] the Company of Bricklayers, the Company of Goldsmiths, and the Lumber Troop in this town, received each, by the fly, two large quarto volumes, from an unknown person in London, entitled *The Chains of Slavery*, with a prefatory address to the electors of Great Britain, to draw their timely attention to the choice of proper representatives in the next Parliament. The work is spirited, and appears through the whole a masterly execution." *Newcastle Chronicle*, May 28, 1774, quoted in the *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend* for April, 1887, p. 50.

¹¹ See note 10, above.

¹² *Ibid.*

forward letters of affiliation without knowing whom they were affiliating. Even admitting, however, that they might send letters of affiliation in blank to an unknown person, still they would certainly hesitate before enclosing them in a golden box. Note, too, that they send these letters, without knowing the address of Marat, to his publisher. Lord North's emissaries then secure the trophy from the publisher. How did they know that such an object had been sent to Marat? Was the box directed to the author of *The Chains of Slavery*? In that case it would have been stopped as it came through the mails, if Marat's assertions about the interference with his correspondence are true. The story of the golden box is a romance.

Marat was certainly in the north of England in 1775, and it is altogether probable that he spent some time at Newcastle. During that visit he might have made the acquaintance of the members of the Newcastle popular societies, but is it possible to believe that these societies discharged the costs of Marat's first edition and then paid the expenses of a second? What is true in this story is that there was a reissue of *The Chains of Slavery* at Newcastle in October, 1775.¹³ Marat declares that this was a second edition, which "was scattered through the three kingdoms". It is impossible to disprove either assertion, but there are good reasons for doubting that the Newcastle "edition" was anything more than a reissue of the unsaleable copies of the London book. In the first place, we have Almon advertised as one of the publishers, and he would certainly never have taken up with a second edition if the history of the first had been what Marat declares it was; nor even if the first edition had been unsaleable, which is the only other alternative. Again, in the second edition of what was after all only a political pamphlet Marat would not have repeated the mistake of printing the book in a style far too expensive for such a work, yet here we have the price advertised as 10s. 6d., which is only 1s. 6d. cheaper

¹³ "Next week will be published, price 10s. 6d., and sold by the booksellers in Newcastle, *The Chains of Slavery*, written by Dr. Marriot, a work well worthy the attention of the public." *Newcastle Chronicle*, October 21, 1775. "This day is published, price 10s. 6d., and sold by J. Almon, in Piccadilly; T. Slack, W. Charnley and F. Humble, in Newcastle; J. Graham, in Sunderland; J. Pickering, in Stockton; N. Thorn, in Durham; E. Lee, in Hexham; and A. Graham, in Alnwick, *The Chains of Slavery*, A work in which the clandestine and villainous attempts of Princes to ruin Liberty are pointed out, and the dreadful scenes of Despotism disclosed, to which is prefixed an Address to the Electors of Great Britain, in order to draw timely attention to the choice of proper Representatives. By J. T. Marat, M.D. Vitam impendere vero." *Newcastle Chronicle*, October 28 and November 4, 1775. Quoted in *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend* for April, 1887, p. 51.

than the London publication. Then, too, the "Address to the Electors of Great Britain" was no longer timely, since the elections had taken place almost a year before. It does not seem likely that Marat would have reprinted this in 1775. But the most weighty reason for skepticism lies in the fact that no copy of this edition is known, whereas if it were spread broadcast throughout the three kingdoms, it should be fairly common. The much rarer London edition is known to exist in at least four copies.¹⁴ Moreover, Marat himself, whenever he speaks of his book, always refers to his London edition.¹⁵ It would seem, then, that Marat sent his unsaleable London copies north to Newcastle, and there, after printing a new title-page, attempted to sell off the rest of the edition. The date of publication itself is evidence of this. In a year's time he had got all the evidence needed of the unsaleability of his book in London. If he had not waited to be convinced of this, he would have issued his "second" edition earlier, when it would have been apropos.

Why was Marat's book unsaleable? The reason is evident in the book itself. It is a royal quarto, the type large and beautiful; the paper, linen of an excellent quality; the price 12s. sewed. These facts known, it must be evident at once that the book was unsaleable, for after all it was nothing but a political pamphlet, and very few people would pay twelve shillings for an anonymous pamphlet dealing with matters necessarily of only momentary interest.

I pass now to Marat's assertions about the effects of the publication when it appeared in 1775. It set the public in a fermentation, he declares, and resulted in a place bill. It is impossible to prove that it did not set the public in a fermentation, though anyone reading it now will feel very dubious about its having had this effect, especially when it is remembered that the American war was absorbing almost all political attention in October, 1775. But however true the statement about the fermentation, it is certain that no place bill passed in 1775, or at any date immediately thereafter. This statement of Marat's is false, and consequently his assertion about the influence of his book in bringing about such a place bill is also false.

¹⁴It is a very rare book. Chevrement says "Introuvable dans le commerce". *Marat Index du Bibliophile et de l'Amateur de Peintures-gravures*, etc., p. 13. Merivale, who wrote about it, had never seen a copy. I know of only four, one in the British Museum, two in Newcastle, and one in the President White Library at Cornell. For the two at Newcastle, see *Monthly Chronicle of North Country Lore and Legend* for April, 1887, p. 50. Neither of these is the "second" edition, nor has there ever been a second edition known there, which would be odd if Marat's story were true.

¹⁵See, for example, his *Les Chaines de l'Esclavage*, pp. 325, 327.

But this, after all, is a minor consideration. The truth is that under no circumstances could Marat's book have produced a ferment in respect to Parliamentary reform or have had any influence upon the passing of a place bill, for the simple reason that Parliamentary reform is never once suggested in *The Chains of Slavery*. This is astonishing in the light of Marat's declaration to the contrary. It is all the more astonishing, because a careful reader will at once observe that in one part of the book such remedies ought to be suggested. This is at the end of a long discussion on Parliamentary abuses. In turning to the French version, the wonder grows, for here we find this long fragment of the English version set apart as a separate article, entitled "Discours aux Anglois le 15 avril 1774, sur les vices de leur Constitution, et les moyens d'y remédier", and we find at the close of this "Discours" what we should expect in the English version, a statement of remedies for the reform of the abuses.¹⁶

It is now evident why Marat said that he had suggested these remedies in the English version of *The Chains of Slavery*. They were before his eyes in the French "Discours" as he wrote his introductory note for the French version. There still remains a point, however, which needs explanation. Must he not have had a copy of the English version in his possession, and would not a

¹⁶ Herman Merivale, in his *Historical Studies*, published in 1865, has an essay called "A Few Words on Junius and on Marat", in which he deals with Marat's account of *The Chains of Slavery*, which he sees no particular reason to doubt. He had only the French version before him, and yet he feels justified in saying that Marat's "Discours aux Anglois le 15 avril 1774, sur les vices de leur Constitution, et les moyens d'y remédier", is in all probability not by Marat, but merely a translation from an English original. "It is all but impossible to read it", he declares, "and not suppose that it was originally written in English by an Englishman" (p. 199, and see also p. 203). A reading of the English version of the "Discours", buried as it is in the text of *The Chains of Slavery*, corroborates Merivale's suspicion. In the first place, it is a criticism of Parliament rather than of princes, and *The Chains* was written to expose the tyranny of princes, not parliaments. There is therefore no apparent justification for its incorporation in the book, and so Marat sets it apart in the French version. Again, it is a lucid criticism of the concrete faults of the English constitution in so far as Parliament is concerned, whereas the rest of the book is given over to abstract reflections upon the tyranny of princes. Then too this long fragment of thirty pages fits in ill with the plan of the book, which is in all other parts divided into short chapters, after the fashion of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*. Then the style is very different. The English, a little pompous and Johnsonian, is excellent, forcible, and lucid. Gallicisms are absent. The author's knowledge of his subject is fairly complete. Again the fragment has no apparent connection with the paragraphs which immediately precede and immediately follow it. Merivale is certainly right. It is the work of an Englishman. I believe the same is true of the "Address to the Electors of Great Britain", though this is by no means certain.

glance at this have shown him that he failed to make the suggestions for legislation in its pages? It is natural to suppose that this would be the case, but it was not. Marat had sold his copy of the English book to a Paris bookseller, and that without learning the name of the buyer.¹⁷ In preparing the French edition, which he apparently did from the French text in which he had first written the book, he wished to consult this vanished copy of the English version. Why? In all probability because he had a lingering doubt in respect to his assertion that he had suggested legislation for Parliamentary reform in the English version. He probably never recovered the English copy, and so made the mistake of affirming what was absolutely false.

Marat may be excused for an error made when he had to guess at what he had printed nineteen years before, but his inability to state facts accurately, even when he had them before his eyes, is altogether inexcusable. A comparison of the "Lettre de l'auteur au Président des États-Généraux", of August 23, 1789, with the "Discours adressé aux Anglois", will show clearly that he was not capable of copying his own assertions accurately. In both these documents, he summarizes the four pieces of remedial legislation which he falsely declares he suggested to the English in 1774.¹⁸ They are: (1) the abolition of rotten boroughs; (2) the transfer to Parliament of the royal power to create peers; (3) a place bill; (4) the verification of the treasury accounts upon the demand, with reasons given, of a few members of the lower house. Now the contents of these four bills, in the two cases, are not absolutely the same. The suggestion for the abolition of rotten boroughs in the "Lettre" is to the effect that this be done by incorporating these boroughs with the surrounding counties in the exercise of the franchise; whereas in the "Discours" the demand is that the rotten boroughs shall be incorporated with the neighboring cities. The second demand in the "Lettre" is that the power of the king to create peers shall be transferred to Parliament, but in the "Discours" it is added that this power shall not be exercised except to

¹⁷ "Le citoyen auquel j'ai cédé l'exemplaire des *Chaines de l'Esclavage*, *The Chains of Slavery*, est prié de vouloir bien envoyer incessamment son adresse à l'auteur, No. 30 rue des Cordeliers, qui lui demande la permission de consulter cet ouvrage pour quelques observations essentielles." *Journal de la République Française*, no. 111, February 1, 1793, p. 8. In no. 115 of the *Journal*, p. 8, he adds to the above notice, the following: "Comme c'est un libraire, dont le nom m'est inconnu, auquel il a été remis, je prie tous les citoyens de cette profession qui prendront lecture de cet avertissement, de vouloir bien le communiquer à leurs confrères." This notice is repeated on page 8 of the numbers for February 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 20.

¹⁸ *Les Chaines de l'Esclavage*, pp. 327, 356.

elevate plebeians who have rendered signal services to the country. The third suggestion in the "Lettre" is that a bill shall be passed excluding from Parliament all persons holding any place at the disposition of the crown. In the "Discours", however, Marat includes pensioners as well as placemen. The fourth suggestion in the "Lettre" is to the effect that the treasury accounts shall be verified on the demand, with reasons given, of three members of the lower house, while in the "Discours" the number of members is set at two. Finally, and most serious of all, in the "Lettre" Marat tells us that the place bill was passed in full, whereas in a note to the "Discours" he informs us that the bills for the abolition of rotten boroughs and for the exclusion of placemen were proposed in Parliament, but did not pass.

Marat is guilty then of telling us a story about the publication of his book in England which is false in almost every particular where we can control his assertions, and finally he shows himself unable to tell the exact truth in a matter where there was no motive for falsehood and no difficulty in stating the facts as they were. Consequently, it is impossible to credit his statements in cases where there is no corroborative evidence for them. And as a corollary to this conclusion, all present lives of Marat are well-nigh valueless. The biography of Marat remains to be written.

R. C. H. CATTERALL.

THE MEXICAN RECOGNITION OF TEXAS

It hardly need be said that from 1836 to 1845, even amid all the inconsistencies that surrounded it, Mexican feeling in regard to Texas and the Texan question was consistently bitter.¹ In opening Congress on the first day of January, 1838, President Bustamante said: "With respect to the Texas campaign, I will only observe that its prosecution is the first duty of the Government and of all Mexicans"; and this was the refrain perpetually. The province had rebelled; by the fortune of war a Mexican army had been vanquished; a Mexican president had been taken prisoner; the national honor must therefore be vindicated, and the national interests must be protected. The smallest crumb of victory against the "rebels" was hailed with unbounded exultation. Even as far from the capital as Tabasco, *La Aurora*, on hearing of a successful raid, exclaimed: "What Mexican does not feel in his breast an insuppressible joy on seeing the arms of his nation triumphant ever against a horde of infamous bandits?" "Urgent necessity of the Texas war", became a stock phrase with journalists and pamphleteers, and the trumpet was sounded in every key.²

In addition to this fundamental sentiment, there were certain related ideas that increased its power. Foreign nations are watching our conduct in this matter, argued the writers, hoping to make us the plaything of their whims and designs. The American Union in particular was represented as covetous of its neighbor's territory and even as plotting to extinguish her independence. The United States, "in their delirious ambition, aspire to plant their unclean flag, the emblem of treason, ingratitude, and injustice, in beautiful and opulent Mexico", cried a pamphleteer in 1842; and this idea became almost as familiar and almost as unquestioned as the doctrine of the Trinity. Moreover the influence of the Texan affair was artificially increased by certain politicians who found it useful, and particularly by Santa Anna, that prince of schemers. He, on opening Congress in 1842, spoke thus with reference to the war:

¹ The words "State Dept." refer to the archives of the United States State Department; "F. O." to the archives of the British Foreign Office preserved at the Public Record Office, London; and "Sria. Relac." to the archives of the Secretaría de Relaciones, Mexico.

² Bustamante, F. O., Mexico, CXIII.; *La Aurora*, October 27, 1842.

"If we wish to preserve an honorable name among civilized nations, it is necessary that we should employ all our energies and resources in combating without ceasing, and at any sacrifice and all hazards, until our arms and our pretensions shall finally triumph"; and in time this matter became an integral part of Mexican life and consciousness, overpowering the imagination and sapping the strength of the nation like a cancer.³

Intelligent men saw, however, that Texas could not be recovered, and a few dared speak of peace. Cañedo, for instance, did so when Minister of Foreign Relations in 1839, and early in 1844 that statesman expressed a similar view in the *Revista Económica y Comercial de la República Mexicana*. Since 1836, he there argued, the Texans have gained strength in all ways, and "the permanence of their nationality can no longer be regarded as problematical." No doubt Mexico has a right to put down rebellion; but all rebels, if they succeed, are recognized as sovereign states. The Texans are brave, hardy, skilful. "Displaying an enthusiasm that borders on madness, they fight with untiring constancy and unflinching resolution in the cause of their independence", and no reverses can discourage them. Our troops, on the other hand, would struggle against them under every disadvantage. Really the only chance of success would be in a naval attack, and for that we lack not only ports and navy yards but a merchant marine in which to train our seamen. We should have to obtain vessels and officers from abroad; and the foreigners would not only feel no patriotic interest in the cause, but would despise the Mexicans under their command. Hence bickerings would arise and not a few of the men would be likely to desert. Besides, war with one country would be war with two. The American government "cannot prevent their people from taking part in preparations for the defense of Texas"—the inducements are too strong. And for what purpose would all our efforts be made? To subjugate a horde of aliens and recover a province less valuable to us than the least productive of those we still have, only to find it necessary in the end either to exterminate the inhabitants or to settle the matter by negotiation. Many say it is better to continue the war, because if peace be made the Texans will encroach upon us. But in that case all the advantages would lie upon our side. It would be for them to make the long marches, to operate in a foreign country, to contend against an alien race. Nor should it be objected that further secessions would occur as the consequence

³ *Urgente Necesidad de la Guerra de Tejas* (México, 1842); Santa Anna, *National Intelligencer*, July 22, 1842.

of acknowledging the independence of Texas, for were a truly Mexican province to revolt we could recover it, as France recovered La Vendée, because the people there would be of our race. By making peace with Texas we should secure great benefits at home, and by ending a war that hinders commerce and progress we should gain credit among the nations.⁴

This disposition on the part of a few to recognize the facts was supported by France and still more vigorously by England. Now and again, beginning rather early in 1839, the British government recommended and urged in the strongest terms, as a most desirable and indeed a most necessary step, that Mexico acknowledge the independence of Texas; and one is amazed to find that, even at a time when English influence was powerful in the country, no regard was paid to her wishes and apparently no consideration given to the weighty reasons which she put forward. Yet in reality the inaction of Mexico was not due merely to blindness, indolence, or obstinacy. She, as well as Great Britain, had reasons, and there were not a few of them.⁵

In the first place any nation would be reluctant to acknowledge itself defeated by rebels, and this was peculiarly true in a case where so vast a disparity of numbers and wealth existed. Racial pride not only emphasized this reluctance, but led the Mexicans to scorn the Texan colonists as beggars because they had asked for lands, and as ingrates because they had revolted. Thirdly, the Mexicans gloried not a little in having abolished slavery, and it was felt by many that in effect a recognition of the lost province would be an endorsement of an odious institution against which the nation had committed itself. "The question of Texas", remarked Santa Anna, "involves another of the greatest importance to the cause of humanity—that of slavery. Mexico, which has given the noble and illustrious example of refusing to increase her wealth and even to cultivate her fields, that she may not see them fattened with the sweat, the blood and the tears of the African race, will not go backward in this policy." Fourthly, as Cañedo's article suggested, it was feared that an acknowledgment of Texan independence would encourage other dissatisfied sections, particularly California, to secede.⁶

⁴ January 15, 1844.

⁵ Pakenham, no. 45, June 3, 1839, F. O., Mexico, CXXIII. Some of the statements made below in support of the last sentence of this paragraph are conclusions based upon a rather extensive examination of contemporary Mexican periodicals found in many parts of the republic, and it would be undesirable no doubt to give a great number of references to inaccessible documents.

⁶ Santa Anna to Hamilton, New Orleans *Bee*, March 12, 1842.

The Mexicans tried to believe also, and most of them were successful, that the United States had instigated the rebellion; they knew that our country had long desired the region; and they could not forget that many volunteers from the United States had aided the people of Texas to defeat their troops. "Who is not aware", demanded *El Provisional* in 1842 in an article reproduced by the government newspaper, "of that criminal connivance, of that determined and insolent protection which—in defiance of sound law and in violation of the treaties with Mexico—is given by the policy of North America to a department filled with rebels from every land, who are resolved to pollute the whole of it and to insult the dignity and honor of a lawfully constituted government?" This language well represents the popular feeling, and a sentence from Santa Anna will show that it varied little from the official view. "The civilized world will not learn without scandal", said the head of the nation in the same year, "that the inhabitants of the United States, infringing their own laws and violating the most sacred international rights, are supporting for the second time a usurpation which they began and constantly promoted, abusing and mocking the generosity with which the Mexicans bestowed upon their fellow-countrymen rich and coveted lands and an invitation to enjoy the benefits of our institutions." For these and other reasons the Mexicans were unfriendly towards the United States; and not only did this nation wish Texas recognized, as it was believed, but it seemed very possible that an acknowledgment of her independence would assist us to obtain the coveted territory, and so would bring us into a dangerous contact with several disaffected departments. Resentment and self-interest co-operated, therefore, from this point of view in urging that recognition be withheld.⁷

In another way no less, the unfriendly feeling against the American Union worked in that direction. The Mexicans were keenly alive to the fact that great differences of opinion between North and South existed here, and that Texas was a bone of contention among us. The following passage, for example, is an editorial utterance from the *Cincinnati Gazette*, which like many others was sent home by the Mexican minister both in English and in Spanish:

When before, indeed, has public duplicity been more foul, or the violation of public faith more glaring, than in his [Tyler's] whole conduct towards our neighbor [Mexico]? We were at peace with her, and professed to be her friend. Under the garb of friendship, we had persuaded Mexico to stop for a while her war movement against Texas,

⁷ *El Provisional*, September 9, 1842; Santa Anna to Hamilton, *loc. cit.*

and in the very spirit of friendship she had heard and heeded our counsel; and while thus we stood towards each other in the sight of man and of God, we were secretly plotting to rob her of that very territory which she claimed! Shame upon the man who brought upon us this national disgrace, and upon that portion of the people who have tamely submitted to the dishonor!

Both North and South the words "disunion" and "dissolution" were menacingly uttered; and our neighbors, arguing from their own methods, looked for a breaking-up of this country. "Perhaps the day is not far distant", wrote the Mexican minister to the United States in August, 1844, "when we shall see two republics in place of these now united states", and he thought the anticipated election of Clay to the presidency in the autumn of that year might precipitate the crash.⁸

It was therefore a definite aim of Mexican policy to stimulate our differences. Over and over again the Minister of Foreign Relations, in a letter addressed in October, 1844, to Shannon, the American representative, but really intended for the public, made a striking distinction between the two sections of this country. Now he dwelt upon "the artifices by which the government and the southern people" of the Union had created the Texan situation; now he lamented the evils brought upon his country by "the faithless [*poco leal*] conduct of the government and the people of the southern States"; and finally he referred to the North as "that portion [of the Union] on whose honor Mexico relies, doing to it the justice which it merits, and which its own government endeavors to take from it, by representing it as an accomplice in a policy to which the nobleness of its generous sentiments is repugnant". From this point of view it was plainly for the interest of Mexico to render the Texas controversy as permanent and bitter as possible, in order to paralyze or at least weaken a neighbor whom she dreaded, and thus not only protect herself but gain the revenge for which she longed.⁹

England, though not hated, was regarded with suspicion. In 1825, when the draft of a treaty with that country, which the Mexican government had been eager to conclude, was laid before Congress, Great Britain was held up there "as an Object of Jealousy and Suspicion", and great pains were taken "to excite Doubts, and Fears, with respect to her future conduct". The following year, when the author of a violent pamphlet against the English was

⁸ *Gazette*, quoted by *National Intelligencer*, December 13, 1844; Almonte, no. 99, August 18, 1844, *Sria. Relac.*

⁹ Rejon to Shannon, October 31, 1844, *House Ex. Doc. No. 19*, 28 Cong., 2 sess., p. 8.

banished by President Victoria, Congress annulled almost unanimously the "extraordinary powers" which had enabled him to inflict this merited punishment. In 1833 a letter was published in the official newspaper charging England with a design to interfere in the internal political affairs of Mexico. The heavy debt to English bondholders was felt to be a sort of usurpation of power over the nation. The British recognition of Texas caused very deep resentment. The English held great properties in the country, and their government were continually making claims and uttering protests in behalf of the owners. British capitalists were believed to have co-operated with Santa Anna in looting the public treasury; and a secret correspondence was commonly said to have been discovered after his fall, in which he had agreed to surrender Yucatan and California to England. A little later the Mexican correspondent of the *London Times* reported that the "grasping policy of Great Britain", and in particular her supposed designs upon California, were "a constant theme of declamation and complaint". There was a fear that by following British advice a still greater hold upon the country as a whole or at least upon some portion of it might be given her, and therefore it seemed best upon general principles to hold off in this matter.¹⁰

More particularly it was suspected that England herself had a covetous eye upon Texas. In 1842 a New Orleans newspaper suggested that she wanted to get that country into her power so as to control a cotton-growing region, and was using Mexico as a cat's-paw; and the Mexican consul brought this article to the attention of his government. In March, 1836, the cabinet of Mexico had been disposed to hand over her rebellious aliens in the north to England; but the later feeling was very different. "There is no power on Earth", wrote the American minister at that capital in February, 1844, "with which Mexico would not rather see Texas connected than with England, either as a colony, or upon any other footing of dependency or union, political or commercial." Upshur,

¹⁰ Morier and Ward, April 30, 1825, F. O., Mexico, XII.; Ward, March 10, 1826, *ibid.*, XX.; (design to interfere) Pakenham, no. 77, December 23, 1833, *ibid.*, LXXX.; (looting) Green, United States chargé, said in a private letter to the United States Secretary of State, dated June 17, 1844 (State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.): "The English merchants here are all in favor of his [Santa Anna's] Govt., because under his administration, *negocios* (which in English may be rendered *transactions* effected by bribery) are most frequent and most profitable. They are his best customers; they pay most liberally for exclusive licenses to import, etc. etc.—They put money in their pockets; he amasses golden ounces. They serve each other, and the interest of G. B. is on his side." (Correspondence) Bankhead, no. 111, December 31, 1844, F. O. Mexico, CLXXVII.; *Times*, April 11, 1846.

our Secretary of State, in a conversation held with Almonte, the Mexican representative, at about the same time argued that it would be "infinitely better" for the latter's country that Texas form a part of the American Union than that she should be a commercial dependency of England, and in this view General Almonte fully concurred. That gentleman wrote to his government that what England and France aimed at in advising that peace be made, was to establish a home for their surplus population between the Rio Grande and the Sabine, and create a new market there from which to "inundate" Mexico with smuggled goods. Finally, there was a lack of faith in England's intention to carry the matter through. In December, 1844, the same minister said, when instructed to ascertain her real policy regarding the annexation of Texas, that he positively knew she was not disposed to have war with the United States on account of that affair.¹¹

Against France deep feeling existed. As will be recalled, there had recently been a war with that nation, and certain circumstances of the conflict had left a peculiar enmity behind. Later a quarrel had occurred with the French minister, a haughty, domineering individual, whose doings had keenly and justly offended Mexican pride; and that difficulty had not yet been settled. The French king himself had urged the recognition of Texas in an imperative and almost insulting manner. In July, 1844, for instance, Louis Philippe inquired of the Mexican minister whether his government thought of acknowledging the independence of Texas, and when Garro replied without hesitation in the negative he retorted, "Then I must tell you with all frankness that my intelligence is not able to understand your policy"; and he would not permit the envoy to explain. Such insistence on the part of France appeared, like England's urgency, too suggestive of self-interest.¹²

Behind all these particular causes of distrust, there lay also a deep-seated suspicion of foreigners in general. This highly characteristic attitude of mind among the Mexicans was largely a heritage from the colonial period, when aliens had been rigidly excluded, but people were confirmed in it by all sorts of misrepresentations. When the cholera morbus was making terrible ravages in 1833, it was alleged and widely believed that the cause of the scourge was

¹¹ *Crescent City*, June 20, 1842; Pakenham, no. 48, July 1, 1836, F. O., Mexico, XCIX.; Thompson, no. 40, February 2, 1844, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XI.; (Upshur) State Dept., Mexican Notes, February 16, 1844; Almonte, no. 28 (*reservada*), 1844, Sria. Relac.: *id.*, no. 161 (*priv.*), December 14, 1844, *ibid.*

¹² Garro, no. 15 (*res.*), July 4, 1844, Sria. Relac.

the poisoning of fountains by men from abroad. This one illustration will suffice, but the number that could be given is almost without limit. Finally, Mexican administrations had so insecure a tenure of existence that officials lived only for the day; political opponents were so cunning and unscrupulous and the public so wanting in confidence and intelligence that no avoidable responsibility was willingly incurred; the ministers themselves were in most cases unequal to their tasks, and all of them had more work than could be done; and the eternal doctrine of *Mañana* (to-morrow) always provided a convenient way of escape. In short, the recognition of Texas presented itself to the Mexican mind as a great sacrifice of honor and interest, on the recommendation of one country that was considered a perfidious, arrogant, and over-prosperous rival, eager to acquire the territory; of another that was regarded as hateful in war and hateful in peace; of a third that was known to be a creditor and believed to be a schemer; and of a fourth that was looked upon as a handful of insolent, ungrateful beggars, at once the scum and the dregs of Christendom; while all the complications of Mexican politics and all the peculiarities of Mexican character tended to recommend the policy of inaction.¹³

By the middle of February, 1844, Bankhead, the British minister in Mexico, received official information by the way of Van Zandt (the Texan chargé at Washington), Elliot (the British chargé in Texas), and the Foreign Office that the United States had informally proposed annexation to the Texan government, and one can hardly doubt that he communicated to the Mexican officials a piece of news so important in itself and so well calculated to justify the course recommended by England. All the steps made known by the American newspapers were closely followed from that time on, and many articles directed against the project, which appeared in the anti-administration journals of the United States, accusing the government of bad faith towards Mexico, of greed, and of duplicity, were reproduced in the official *Diario* and in other Mexican papers. To suggest what their effect upon the public mind must have been, it is enough to mention that an article from the *Anti-Slavery Standard* of New York was presented as an impartial account of Tyler's proceedings. The popular Democratic view that the presidential election had settled the question of annexation did not escape notice; and the President's messages of December, 1844, were carefully scanned. Whatever others asserted, the Mexican consul at New

¹³ (Fountains) Pakenham, no. 55. October 5, 1833. F. O., Mexico, LXXX.

Orleans insisted continually in his despatches home that annexation was now only a question of time.¹⁴

On February 14, 1845, the passage of Brown's resolution, which embodied that project, by the House of Representatives was known at Mexico, and this news created "great consternation" in the cabinet, reported Bankhead. Cuevas, who then held the portfolio of foreign relations, immediately asked the opinion of this sensible diplomat, who chanced to be with him when the information arrived, and was earnestly counselled to be moderate and cautious. Soon after, Bankhead followed up this advice by entreating him to delay no longer the acknowledgment of Texan independence. Cuevas replied that a proposition to recognize the revoltors would be instantly rejected by Congress unless backed and aided by England and France, but, with an assurance of that support, would certainly pass. "I reminded his Excellency", reported Bankhead, "that any assistance from England must be a moral one, for that whatever disposition may at one time have existed to go beyond that line, had now been withdrawn"; and this unsatisfactory assurance was all that could be obtained.¹⁵

The following month Cuevas laid before Congress a *Memoria*. On the portion of it relating to Texas he had consulted Bankhead, and one may suppose had been influenced by him. In this paper the minister argued that under Santa Anna the foreign affairs of Mexico had been very badly managed, and endeavored to bring against the hostile attitude maintained towards the Texans all the unpopularity of the now overthrown tyrant—the ministry, as he explained, having been "blind, and wholly carried away by the impetuous genius of the man who dominated it". He then proceeded to adduce reasons for adopting a new method in handling the matter. It is impossible to regain our lost territory, he argued. The people are all aliens; they have no sympathy with Mexico; and they can neither be exterminated nor compelled to join heartily with us. Military success against them, if possible, would cost more than it would be worth; and the only real chance would be

¹⁴ December 26, 1843, the British Foreign Office sent to Bankhead a copy of a despatch from the British chargé in Texas dated October 31, which reported an interview with Houston at which the chargé had been shown a despatch from Van Zandt dated September 18, stating that the American Secretary of State had informally proposed the annexation of Texas, F. O., Mexico, CLX. (mails usually passed between Mexico City and London in about six weeks); *Diario*, June 15, 1844, etc.; Arrangoiz, consul, no. 58, June 17, 1844, no. 60 (*res.*), June 19, 1844, no. 26, February 4, 1845, Sria. Relac.

¹⁵ *Diario del Gobierno*, February 14, 1844; Bankhead, no. 19, March 1, 1845, F. O., Mexico, CLXXXIV.

to induce colonists from other nations to settle there and neutralize the influence of the Americans. War, then, is not feasible. Equally grave is the problem of recognition. The national honor and the integrity of the national territory are involved in that question. If independent, Texas would carry on smuggling operations and would be the ally and tool of the United States. Worse yet, however, would be the absorption of that region by its great neighbor, for while "the independence of Texas perhaps would not make necessary a war with the American republic; from its annexation, this must inevitably result." It is, therefore, "not strange that the idea be suggested of a negotiation which, based upon our rights, should be worthy of the Republic and should ensure definitively the respect with which the United States must regard Mexico". If such a course be pursued, the nation, in case of war, "can reckon upon more sympathy [than could otherwise be expected] and upon the co-operation of that just and enlightened policy which prevails in the world today".¹⁶

Meantime reports from Arrangoiz, the consul at New Orleans, made the success of the annexationists appear still more certain. On March 8, he wrote that even the fear of war would not stop the United States, and a week later that, although most of the Texan newspapers condemned the terms of Brown's resolution, it would be accepted by the people. The Mexican public became greatly excited and the government found it necessary to despatch troops northward; but on March 20 Bankhead informed Elliot that all the bravado of threatening hostilities meant nothing and that Mexico was disposed to receive overtures with a view to recognition. This assurance Cuevas had authorized him to give.¹⁷

On the very next day came official information that the American Senate and President had acted in favor of annexation. Cuevas immediately sent for Bankhead, who endeavored to calm his excitement; and later both the English and the French ministers discussed the situation with the Mexican secretary and strongly recommended moderation. Congress was officially informed of the news on March 22 and that body immediately put on a warlike front. It was proposed in the lower house to abrogate the treaty of amity and commerce existing between the United States and Mexico, shut out American trade, and prohibit the restoration of commercial inter-

¹⁶ *Memoria*, March 11, 1845; Bankhead, no. 46, April 29, 1845, F. O., Mexico, CLXXXV.

¹⁷ Arrangoiz, no. 47 (*res.*), March 8, no. 51 (*res.*), March 14, 1845, Sria. Relac.; Bankhead, no. 27, March 31, 1845, F. O., Mexico, LXXXIV.; *id.* to Elliot, March 20, 1845, *ibid.*

course except on the basis of non-annexation; and a few days later it was moved that "under the existing circumstances the Government should listen to no proposition having for its object the recognition of the independence of Texas, and under no circumstances to propositions looking toward the annexation of that Department to the United States"; and the resolution even undertook to make it legally treasonable to "promote either of these designs by speech or writing". A letter to Shannon, though moderated by the British and French representatives, broke off diplomatic relations with him; yet, as the London *Times* noted at once, it did not reassert the claim of Mexico to the Texan territory, and it was plain to close observers that the government had not been controlled entirely by the feelings of the public or even by their own.¹⁸

On the afternoon of April 7 a fearful earthquake shook the capital and filled the inhabitants of the city with mourning and alarm. Immense damages were caused, the halls of Congress were so much injured that sessions could no longer be held there, and shocks continued to work havoc the following day. Whether this visitation had any effect on public sentiment cannot be known, but a spirit of seriousness must have been promoted by it, and the government may have argued that the superstitious masses would feel doubtful whether heaven approved of their bellicose excitement. At all events, on April 8 Bankhead wrote that he believed Congress would accept "any fair plan" for acknowledging the independence of Texas.¹⁹

Two days later the official journal published the note that Almonte had addressed to the American government after the President had signed the annexation resolution, protesting against his action and announcing an intention to withdraw from the country. This document was of course well suited to stimulate public opinion at Mexico, for it described the absorption of Texas as "an act of aggression the most unjust which can be found recorded in the annals of modern history", and assumed an equally high tone all the way through. Much more noteworthy, however, was Buchanan's reply, published at Mexico on the same day, for it declared suggestively that the admission of Texas to the American Union was now irrevocably decided upon so far as the United States were

¹⁸ Bankhead, no. 27 (see note 17); *Diario*, April 11, 1845; *La Voz del Pueblo*, March 29, 1845; Shannon, no. 9, March 27, no. 10, April 6, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.; Cuevas to Shannon, March 28, 1845, *Diario*, March 28, 1845; *Times*, May 10, 1845.

¹⁹ *México á través de los Siglos*, IV. 539; Bankhead to Elliot, April 8, 1845, F. O., Texas, XXIII.

concerned, and added explicitly that only a refusal of the other party to accept the terms and conditions upon which her admission depended could frustrate the design. This language, though far from being so intended, was a strong argument in favor of the proposed negotiations with Texas, and some of the quick-witted Mexicans doubtless caught the hint.²⁰

Scarcely was the ink of the *Diario* dry, when the opportunity came to take advantage of Buchanan's suggestion. It was the earnest wish of England and France, now acting in concert regarding the matter, to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States; and the British representative on the ground had believed for some time that, if Mexico would give the Texans an assurance of security by recognizing their independence, they could be induced to maintain their nationality. In this opinion President Jones professed to concur. Accordingly, at the very end of March, when the Congress of the United States was known to have passed annexation resolutions, these gentlemen, with the French representative and the Texan secretary of state, who was opposed to the policy of joining the American Union, came together and drew up certain "Conditions preliminary to a treaty of peace", based upon the principles of recognition by Mexico and a pledge on the part of Texas to remain separate from all other countries. For obvious reasons it was deemed highly important to bring clearly before the authorities at Mexico the arguments for accepting this plan and to obtain their concurrence in the shortest possible time. On both grounds it seemed best that the British chargé should present the matter personally, and that gentleman, taking great pains to deceive the public as to his destination, slipped away south as quickly as he could.²¹

On the evening of April 11 the British frigate *Eurydice* came in at Vera Cruz. Without loss of time her captain landed, and as soon as possible he set out for Mexico City, carrying—it was understood—despatches for the British minister. With him went an in-

²⁰ *Diario*, April 10, 1845; Almonte to Calhoun, March 6, 1845, *Sen. Doc. No. 1*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., p. 38; Buchanan to Almonte, March 10, 1845, *ibid.*, p. 39; (hint) *México á través de los Siglos*, IV. 539.

²¹ As this paragraph is aside from the main line of the paper and is based upon a large number of documents, it is thought best to give no references. The sources are all of a clear and unquestionable character, it is believed. The Texans' proposal was as follows (*Sen. Doc. No. 1*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., p. 88): "I. Mexico consents to acknowledge the independence of Texas; II. Texas engages that she will stipulate in the treaty not to annex herself or become subject to any country whatever; III. Limits and other conditions to be matter of arrangement in the final treaty; IV. Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires."

conspicuous person in a white hat. This retiring individual, however, was his cousin, Charles Elliot, the British chargé in Texas, who had induced the commander of the *Eurydice* to assume the rôle of a bearer of despatches in order to divert attention from himself; and three days later, after having been duly robbed en route by the brigands, the travellers arrived safely at the capital with the Texan proposition.²²

The outlook for their mission appeared distinctly favorable. The President, Herrera, was a mild, fair, thoughtful, and patriotic citizen, and his policy was not characterized by the animosity towards the United States, real or assumed, that many previous governments of Mexico had exhibited. The official journal had even reprinted without comment an article from an American newspaper condemning Rejon's bitter correspondence with Shannon. Already the President had indicated a willingness to make advances to Texas and the terms now received from Jones were unexpectedly favorable to Mexico. In fact Bankhead described the proposition that Texas would not join any foreign nation as "a positive and unsolicited concession" to the mother-country. The British minister was regarded at this time by the American consul as the dominant factor at Mexico. Indeed the consul intimated that the administration was "under the tutelage of the British Legation", and all the influence of England favored, of course, an acceptance of the Texan overture, while the *Memoria* of Cuevas was believed to have prepared the public mind for concessions. A council of the ministers was at once convened; the proposition was laid before it; and the decision of the cabinet was to accept it.²³

There existed, however, a difficulty. As the government possessed no authority to alienate any portion of the national territory, it was necessary to ask Congress for the power to do so. Several days were therefore taken to prepare that body for the request, and then, on April 21, Cuevas laid the subject before the Chamber of Deputies in what was termed an *Iniciativa*. "Circumstances have arisen", he said, "which render negotiations for the blocking of the annexation of Texas to the United States not only proper but neces-

²² Elliot to Jones, April 5, 1845, endorsement, Anson Jones, *Memoranda*, etc., p. 443; Dimond, no. 236, April 12, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Consuls, Vera Cruz, I.; Elliot to George Elliot, April 5, 1845, and memorandum, F. O., Texas, XV.; George Elliot to Austen, May 2, 1845, *ibid.*; Bankhead, no. 46, April 29, 1845, F. O., Mexico, CLXXXV.

²³ Shannon, no. 8, January 16, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.; Bankhead, no. 110, December 31, 1844, no. 46, April 29, 1845, F. O., Mexico, CLXXVII., CLXXXV.; Parrott to Buchanan, May 13, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.

sary . . . [and] Texas has at last proposed a settlement." To refuse to treat regarding this matter would constitute "a terrible charge against the present administration"; yet the President, "though satisfied of its importance and of the urgency of doing something in regard to it, is also convinced that the Executive cannot act in the affair without a previous authorization from the Chambers". Should this be granted, the proper steps will be taken. If an honorable arrangement can be made, the government will lay it before Congress; while if not, the government will be the first to declare for a war, "which will be the more just, the greater have been our efforts to prevent it". To adopt any other course than to break at once with the United States is a very great sacrifice for the administration; but, with a view to the welfare of the country, we suggest that "the Government be authorized to hear the propositions made regarding Texas, and proceed to negotiate such an arrangement or treaty as may be deemed proper and honorable for the Republic". This request was received "most favorably", reported Bankhead; and Elliot wrote to Jones before the day was over that in a week the conditions of peace would be formally signed.²⁴

Public sentiment, however, had been following the Texas affair with growing excitement. The government's proposition to the Chamber was made in secret, but more or less distorted accounts of it leaked out. The Federalists accused the administration savagely of selling a part of the country for British gold, insisting that England's efforts in the matter were for selfish ends. Tornel, formerly Santa Anna's crafty satellite and now the editor of a paper, cried loudly for war though personally a notorious coward. "Let us die, but let us die bathed in the blood of our enemies!", exclaimed *El Veracruzano*. "The triumph will be ours", declared *El Jalisciense* more hopefully but with no less fury, "and the infamy will fall to the enemies of justice." "Let us fly to Texas and recover the honor of the nation!", exhorted *El Observador* of Zacatecas. "The entire nation demands war. . . . What, then, is the Government about? . . . Alas for the Mexican nation if it lose these moments, precious for overcoming its enemy! Alas for Mexico, if she forget that her independence, that her liberties are to-day in danger!", cried *La Voz del Pueblo*; and still more furiously the same popular journal exclaimed, after Cuevas had presented his *Iniciativa* to the Chamber, "Extermination and death to the Sabine was the cry of our legions victorious at the Alamo, Béjar and El

²⁴ Bankhead, no. 46, April 29, 1845, *loc. cit.*; Cuevas, *Iniciativa*, April 21, 1845, *Diario*, April 21, 1845; *México á través de los Siglos*, IV. 539; Elliot to Jones, April 21, 1845, Jones, *Memoranda*, p. 452.

Salado. Extermination and death will be the cry of the valiant regulars and of the citizen soldiery, marching enthusiastically to reconquer Texas." "Mexicans! . . . Already you have ceased to possess a frontier or even a dividing line between yourselves and your perfidious neighbor. Already you have lost the hope of preserving your independence. Day by day from now on that independence will grow feebler; and at this very moment we see our liberties, our cherished liberties, Mexicans, threatened by an enemy close at hand. You, then, Mexicans, what are you doing?"—thus appealed *El Veracruzano Libre*. "The Texas affair has ceased to be a question", declared the *Boletín de Noticias*; "In the face of the world the most horrible of perfidies has now been consummated, and the peril of our country places before us the terrible problem whether to exist or to exist no more." It is actually proposed to renounce forever, so the *Courrier Français* summarized the language of the extremists, a province that is ours; the intervention of England and France would cost us too dear; no sort of arrangement with rebels ought to be tolerated; "Delenda est Carthago!"²⁵

Particularly violent was *La Voz del Pueblo*, and its editors, not satisfied to hurl thunderbolts—or at least firebrands—in every issue, brought out a pamphlet in which they spoke as follows:

There is a power which—thanks to the shrewd and tortuous policy of its government—keeps up in a marvellous manner despite its immense debt and its internal poverty. This power has discovered in the independence of Texas an efficacious means of advancing its interests, and has concerned itself so prominently in the affair as to give the protection of its flag to the propositions of the Texan rebels. The object of Señor Elliot's visit has been very publicly known, and the infantile confidence with which Señor Cuevas and his associates have listened without hesitation to proposals coming through such a channel has been truly wonderful. The particular attention of the whole republic is invited to the *speed* and *opportuneness* with which the *Memoria* of Señor Cuevas, the arrival of Señor Elliot, and the proposition reported by the committee on Texan affairs, have followed one upon the other. [Señor Henry Wheaton has shown that the new routes from northern Europe to central Asia will increase the importance of Austria and lessen that of Great Britain; and he has pointed out that, in order to avoid ruin, England must establish somewhere in America a system of trade like that now flourishing in the East Indies.] What better point can be found, say we, than Texas? [Firmly settled there, she will reach out to California, and use the magnificent harbor of San Francisco to establish direct relations with Asia.] We should then have to carry on a per-

²⁵ (Tornel) Bankhead, no. 48, May 20, 1845, F. O., Mexico, CLXXXV.; *El Veracruzano*, April 5, 1845; *El Jalisciense*, April 1, 1845; *El Observador*, April 6, 1845; *La Voz del Pueblo*, April 16, May 3, 1845; *El Veracruzano Libre*, March 24, 1845; *Boletín de Noticias*, March 4, 1845; *Courrier Français*, quoted by *Diario*, May 18, 1845.

petual war, and the lot of our brethren on the frontier, the lot of all Mexicans, would perhaps be no more tolerable than that of the Mahrattas in Hindostan. . . . Fascinating the eyes of the Texan rebels with the prestige of a distinguished place among the nations of the earth and at the same time impressing upon them the necessity of securing powerful support, England would transform their country, as she transformed the Ionian Islands, into a republic under her special protection.²⁶

Such appeals as these were admirably calculated to excite the Mexicans, for they touched the springs of patriotism, pride, suspicion, jealousy, and conscious weakness. Five days after Cuevas presented his *Iniciativa* the American consul at Mexico reported, "War with the United States seems to be the desire of all parties rather than to see Texas annexed" to the American Union. At Vera Cruz and Puebla there were even symptoms of revolt. The cabinet felt greatly distressed. Every sign of opposition seemed invincible to the minister of foreign relations, and Bankhead reported: "It required all the argument and solicitation of Monsieur de Cyprey [the French minister] and myself to keep Señor Cuevas up to the mark, by repeating to him the absolute necessity of immediate action, and pointing out the crisis in which the Country is placed." Bankhead believed, and no doubt urged, that the incorporation of Texas into the United States would mean the opening of a door for the conquest of Mexico. Yet with all this "staring him in the face", as the British minister said, the fear of taking a responsibility often caused Señor Cuevas to present "the most puerile arguments to avoid giving a direct answer to the Texian propositions". In fact he seemed convinced by May 10 that the ministry would have to resign; but finally, stimulated by the exhortations of the British and French representatives not to abandon the cause of Mexico and encouraged by promises of support from political friends, the cabinet consented to remain in office.²⁷

There were, however, other causes of embarrassment. All the previously mentioned considerations tending to favor inaction in the matter of recognizing Texas had an opportunity to present themselves anew. In particular it was very difficult for the ministers to shake off the familiar notion that giving up Texas might involve the loss of other territory. It is possible that Cuevas hoped to obtain, by holding off, an English and French guaranty of the northern

²⁶ *Federacion y Tejas* (México, 1845). The portions of this passage included in brackets summarize omitted sentences. The proposition of the committee on Texan affairs was in favor of the proposed negotiation.

²⁷ Parrott to Buchanan, April 26, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.; Bankhead, no. 48, May 20, 1845 (see note 25); *id.*, no. 46, April 29, 1845 (see note 23).

boundary. He knew that in June of the previous year England at least had been ready to stand behind the permanent independence of Texas, that since that time France had pursued the same Texan policy as her neighbor, and that both were now quite as anxious to have Mexico recognize that country as they had been at any previous date. He understood, too, that without such a guaranty Texan independence might prove a feeble barrier, or no barrier at all, against the United States. Seeing all this and aware that Great Britain had strongly recommended the recognition of that independence as the means of establishing such a barrier, he may reasonably have suspected that Bankhead and Cyprey were authorized to give the desired pledge should that step become absolutely necessary, and he may have adopted a policy of delay partly for effect upon them. Another statesmanlike view also may have been considered. In February the Mexican minister to the United States had written to the consul of his nation at New Orleans that the pending Oregon bill would certainly, if passed, be the cause of war between the United States and England, and this idea was forwarded to the capital. That bill, to be sure, did not become a law; but Polk's Inaugural Address took so uncompromising a stand for American claims in the far northwest that a conflict seemed once more very possible, and Cuevas may well have paused to inquire whether a war might not give his country an opportunity to make good her claim to Texas, and whether England's present eagerness to have that country recognized might not be due in a greater or less measure to a perception of this very fact.²⁸

Procrastination, however, on the part of Mexican diplomats does not absolutely require so elaborate an explanation. Indolence was constitutional and habitual with them; and to that cause more than to any other Bankhead attributed the delay in this affair. Mexican formalism was another obstacle. Peña y Peña, chairman of the Senate committee, for example, caused the waste of several most precious days by insisting upon drawing up a labored report that went back to the Duke of Alva and the Low Countries. Then the business was nearly upset by the news that President Jones had convoked the Texan Congress to consider the American proposition for annexation, and that—as the Mexican consul at New Orleans wrote—ten more United States war vessels were coming to Vera Cruz; but Bankhead assured the government that the latter report could not be correct, and Elliot explained that Jones's action was

²⁸ Foreign Office to Bankhead, June 3, 1844, F. O., Mexico, CLXXII.; Bankhead, no. 65, August 29, 1844, *ibid.*, CLXXV.; Arrangoiz, no. 35 (*res.*), February 17, 1845, Sria. Relac.

merely intended to silence the clamor and defeat the intrigues of the American party in Texas.²⁹

While the diplomats discussed and meditated, the *Diario* endeavored to bring the people around. Regarding the course of the United States, it said, the opinion of all is the same; but it is now a question of "opening negotiations for the very purpose of preventing" the success of their designs. If the government refuse to hear the proposals of Texas, it may hereafter be said that by so doing they brought upon us the greatest of evils; whereas if those proposals are listened to, no matter what be the outcome, it will be clear to the world that we resort to war only after exhausting all honorable measures to avoid it. Besides, the negotiations are to rest, as we understand, on a basis highly creditable to Mexico, and the result of them will be submitted to the Chambers. An opposition paper attacks the idea of even listening to Texas, on the ground that while we dream of a peaceful settlement, the United States—"who never sleep"—will overwhelm us; but there is no need of relaxing our preparations for war while we negotiate. The article in question betrays personal considerations all the way through. It is simply an attempt to discredit the ministry, and it would be better to await the result of the discussions and see what kind of a treaty is actually drawn. Others complain because the propositions of Texas are not immediately published; but it would be stupid to make them known, since the United States might then baffle us, as they have already taken advantage of every blunder on our part.³⁰

It is charged, protested the *Diario*, that the ministry have usurped powers that do not belong to them; but this is false, for they have taken no final action and will leave the decision to the Chambers. It is objected that they have asked not only for power to hear propositions but for power to execute an agreement; but it would be absurd to let them listen yet refuse them all authority to do anything. It is argued that treaty-making is a sovereign act, and that—recognizing the ability of Texas to treat with us by asking leave to negotiate with her—the government practically admit the independence of that country; but it is well known that in every case of rebellion the seceding part of a nation is for certain purposes *regarded as if* independent, and this was done by ourselves in the instance of Yucatan. It is further objected that the organic law permits the president to make treaties only with foreign nations, and that the government, by asking permission to treat with Texas,

²⁹ Bankhead to Elliot, May 20, 1845, F. O., Texas, XXIII.; *id.*, no. 48, May 20, 1845 (see note 25).

³⁰ *Diario*, April 22, May 1, 1845.

recognize it as such; but the government would have had no occasion to ask for special powers had they regarded Texas as a foreign nation. Another objection is this: The organic law gives no authority to treat with a revolted province and therefore the mere proposition of the government is itself a violation of law; but at the worst, if the law did forbid the government to treat with a revolted province, the present proposition would be only a suggestion that one of its provisions be annulled. The constitution does not, however, forbid such negotiations, for it is merely silent on the matter.³¹

At the same time the urgency of the situation was further emphasized by the Mexican consul at New Orleans. The press of Texas, he reported, had come over gradually to the side of annexation, and the Congress would not dare to reject the American proposition. At Fort Jesup, near the Texas frontier, he added, there were sixteen companies of United States infantry and seven of dragoons, and other troops had been ordered to that point. In all there were 2500 or 2600 men, and they would enter Texas immediately, should it be known that Mexican soldiers had crossed the border. It would therefore be in vain to rely upon force. Meanwhile the Mexican minister to the United States, who believed his nation ought to recognize Texas at once and hurried home to present his views, appears to have arrived on the scene and doubtless he gave additional strength to that side of the question.³²

Finally, after three days of debate, the Chamber of Deputies authorized the cabinet on May 3 to hear the propositions "offered by Texas", thus gratifying the national vanity by pointing out distinctly who had tendered the olive branch. At the same time, instead of permitting the ministers to negotiate such an agreement as they should consider proper and honorable, it only gave power to negotiate one that should "be" proper and honorable. For this ingenious device to saddle the responsibility upon the executive department the vote stood forty-one to thirteen. Two weeks later the Senate approved of the measure by thirty voices against six, and at length on May 20 Bankhead notified Elliot, and Cyprey notified Jones, of the acceptance of the Texan articles. Cuevas had made an additional declaration to the effect that, should the negotiation fail for any reason or should Texas consent directly or indirectly to join

³¹ *Diario*, May 1, 6, 1845. The arguments of the *Diario* are of particular interest because they reveal the superficial and captious yet clever character of the opposition. It was aided by the ablest of Mexican journals, *El Siglo XIX*. (e. g., April 24, 1845), and by some other periodicals.

³² Arrangoiz, no. 67 (*res.*), April 30, 1845. Sria. Relac.: Foreign Office to Cowley, ambassador to France, no. 46, April 15, 1845, F. O., Texas, XXI.; Shannon, no. 10, April 6, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Mins., Mexico, XII.

the United States, the action of Mexico in agreeing to treat with her should be considered null and void; but this bit of tactics did not affect the substance of the matter.³³

During the last week of April Elliot, having done all that he could at the capital, retired to the beautiful town of Jalapa, not far from Vera Cruz, and there awaited the result of his mission. On learning what had been accomplished, he sailed for Galveston in the French brig of war, *La Pérouse*, and on May 30 he found himself in port. All his efforts and those of his French colleague, however, though seconded by the Texan executive, came to naught. Public sentiment declared emphatically in favor of joining the American Union. The conditions of peace, when laid before the Senate, were promptly rejected; and both Congress and a convention of the people accepted the annexation proposal of the United States.³⁴

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³³ *Diario*, May 18, 1845; Bankhead to Elliot, May 20, 1845, F. O., Texas, XXIII.; Cyprey to Jones, May 20, 1845, Texan archives, Austin; *México à través de los Siglos*, IV. 543. A recent publication touching on this matter states that the Mexican government "attached its signature to the document" only after "such changes were made as were considered 'essential to the maintenance of Mexican honor'"; but a glance at pp. 88 and 89 of *Sen. Doc. No. 1*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., will show that no changes whatever were made. Here lies a point of much importance. Elliot and Saligny (the French chargé in Texas) had been compelled to use great urgency in order to bring Jones into this arrangement, and his pledge to take certain action desired by them and by Mexico was made conditional on the signing at Mexico of "the preliminary conditions now submitted" (Elliot, secret, April 2, 1845, F. O., Texas, XIII.). Consequently any modification of these would have been seen by Elliot, Saligny, and Cuevas to threaten ruin to their entire plan by enabling Jones to declare that the condition of his pledge had not been fulfilled. The "Additional Declaration" of Cuevas, evidently intended as a shield against his political adversaries, was worded as follows: "It is understood that besides the four preliminary articles proposed by Texas, there are other essential and important points which ought also to be included in the negotiation, and that if this negotiation is not realized on account of circumstances, or because Texas, influenced by the law passed in the United States on annexation, should consent thereto, either directly or indirectly, then the answer which under this date is given to Texas, by the undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, shall be considered as null and void. Mexico, May 19, 1845" (*Sen. Doc. No. 1*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., p. 89).

³⁴ *London Times*, June 4, 1845; Dimond to State Department, no. 243, May 27, 1845, State Dept., Desps. from Consuls, Vera Cruz, I.; (arrival) Elliot, no. 16, May 30, 1845, F. O., Texas, XIII. The rest of the paragraph refers to matters of common knowledge.

THE SECOND BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

IN the summer of 1904 was celebrated with notable festivity the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party. Proceedings on this occasion were characterized by the unquestioning assumption that the political organization formed "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, half a century before and there named the Republican party had maintained its identity under that name in unbroken continuity down to the present day. It was doubtless proper that for an occasion like that celebration such an assumption should be made and left unquestioned. Whether the same attitude is correct for the serious student of history, is more than doubtful. It is difficult to say by precisely what criterion the continuity of party life is to be judged. Should we look to principles, to personnel, to name, or to all three combined? Whichever test we choose in connection with the Republican party, we shall find troublesome if not insuperable obstacles in the way of tracing its life unbroken through half a century. We shall find that at one very critical period of our national history the party was, if not dead, at least in a state of suspended animation, and that so far as it was capable of expressing an opinion on its own condition, it admitted that it was dead.

In so summary a treatment of this subject as I am obliged to employ here, I can consider only the aspect of the matter which is concerned with the national organization. It may be assumed that the course of affairs in the state organizations manifests a general correspondence with that in the broader field.

When in 1860 the Republicans won their first great national victory the party was still heterogeneous and ill-compacted. The single characteristic principle upon which all elements were agreed was that of opposition to the further extension of slavery; outside of that the ancient antipathies, personal and political, of Free Soilers, Whigs, Democrats, and Know-Nothings caused much friction. At the outbreak of war, however, all former issues were for a time lost sight of in the overwhelming tide of Union sentiment. Party lines disappeared, but made themselves manifest again when after a year of fighting little impression had been made upon the South and the administration had begun to employ the war power in ways which played havoc with old ideals of constitutional liberty. In the

reappearance of active party politics the opposition to the administration worked under the name and with the organs of the Democratic party; but the supporters of the administration, following the lead of Mr. Lincoln himself, systematically avoided resort to the name and traditions of the Republican party. It was fully demonstrated by the state and Congressional elections of 1862 that without uniting the War Democrats to the Republicans the conquest of the South was practically out of the question. This indispensable combination could hardly be hoped for, in any effective form, save through the frank abandonment by the Republicans of their distinctive party character. Such policy, therefore, was followed in all parts of the North. The Republican local organizations were used, since the War Democrats had in general no distinctive organs; but in place of the Republican name, that of Union party was adopted; for the test of anti-slavery doctrine was substituted that of purpose to maintain the integrity of the Union at whatever cost; and in the nominations for office the distinction between Democratic and Republican antecedents was disregarded. The process which went on was not that of a temporary fusion of two parties, but that of the creation of a new party, with a purpose and a policy distinct from what had been characteristic of any party theretofore.

The climax of this movement came in the National Convention at Baltimore in 1864. This assembly was neither spoken nor thought of by its members as a Republican convention. The formal call which initiated it was issued by the Republican National Executive Committee, but in no other respect was any suggestion of connection with any old party permitted to be associated with its proceedings. Its temporary chairman declared, amid the applause which attends all the speeches on such occasions, that among the solemn duties that must be performed by the convention was that of organizing the Union party.

I see before me [he said] not only primitive Republicans and primitive Abolitionists, but I see also primitive Democrats and primitive Whigs . . . primitive Americans. . . . As a Union party I will follow you to the ends of the earth and to the gates of death; but as an Abolition Party, as a Republican Party, as a Whig Party, as a Democratic Party, as an American Party I will not follow you one foot.

And the permanent chairman said, in his carefully prepared address:

In no sense do we meet as members or representatives of either of the old political parties . . . or as champions of any principle or doctrine peculiar to either. The extraordinary condition of the country since the outbreak of the rebellion . . . has compelled the formation of

substantially new political organizations: hence the origin of the Union Party . . . of which this convention is, for the purpose of its assembling, the accredited representative, and the only test of membership in which is an unreserved, unconditional loyalty to the government and the Union.

These expressions would sufficiently demonstrate that the Republican party, as such, had no share in the convention; but to them may be added the explicit declaration of the platform that it embodies the views of "Union men", "laying aside all differences of political opinion", and the final and conclusive fact that the nominee for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, had never professed anything but utter antipathy for any characteristic item of Republican belief save opposition to Secession.

Whatever view be required by the exigencies of anniversary celebrations, the conclusion from the facts and from contemporary opinion must be that the Republican party as a general political organization did not exist in 1864. Not that the name "Republican" disappeared from the vocabulary of party politics. In many cases it was still retained in the official title of local and state organizations, just as the name "Whig" had persisted as the designation of various *disjecta membra* of a party long after the national organization had ceased to exist. Moreover the Democrats never called their antagonists anything but Republicans, and for a double reason. In the first place the odium which the name carried to old-time Democrats would tend to deter them from going over to the party which bore it; and secondly, the appropriation of the term "Union men" by the administration party was hotly resented by the Democrats because of the implication it carried that none but administration men favored the maintenance of the Union. The Democratic contention was, of course, that the Democrats desired to maintain the Union by rational and constitutional means, while their adversaries insisted on bloodshed and despotism. While the Democrats, then, consistently stigmatized the members of the new party as Republicans, those men themselves, even when of ultra-Republican antecedents, consistently repudiated the name and called themselves Union men.

The Union party won a complete victory in the elections of 1864, and during the following winter and spring saw the triumph of the two cardinal features of its policy—the destruction of the Confederacy and the passage of a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. On the question which now assumed the first importance—the manner and method of reconstruction—the party had formulated no opinion whatever. The sudden and complete realization of the

purpose which had dominated its organization left it now without discernible cause for further existence.¹ But it is no more the habit of political parties than of individuals to disappear from the earth merely because no reason can be assigned for their further continuance upon it. Two facts operated to preserve the identity of the Union party—the possession of national and state offices and the traditional hostility of the Democratic organization. As the administration's policy of restoring the rebel states progressed in its development, however, a well-defined line of cleavage appeared within the Union party in reference to that policy. The factions were known as Conservative and Radical, and the fundamental issue between them was whether the Union which they had labored successfully to save should be on practically the same basis as it had been before the war, or should be regarded as substantially transformed in consequence of the war. During the summer and autumn of 1865 the conservative idea, under the lead of the administration, was manifestly in the ascendant, and the Radicals were but a factious and impotent minority. So general, indeed, was the satisfaction with the President's conservative policy that even the Democrats fell into line behind him, and the same Andrew Johnson who figures in history as an abysmal presidential failure figures at the same time as the only President in his generation who received formal endorsement from both the great political parties of the nation.²

The first half of the year 1866 wrought a complete transformation in party conditions. Through Mr. Johnson's lack of tact and of sound political judgment the Union majority in Congress was hopelessly alienated from him. This inured greatly to the advantage of the Radicals throughout the country. That the Democrats clung firmly to him, had the same effect. The restoration of the Southern States, which Mr. Johnson claimed was practically complete in

¹ "Of the parties that existed when the war began the name 'Democratic' alone remains. The Constitutional Union party survives only in John Bell drinking success to the rebellion in bad whisky. The Republican party, as such, has secured its great object of limiting the extension of slavery. The necessities of the case, in a nation waging a civil war, divide us all into two bodies; those who support the Administration in its war policy, and those who do not. But the old party lines do not separate us. The party of the Administration is composed of men as different as the late Edward Everett, General Butler, John A. Griswold, Thurlow Weed, and Charles Sumner, who were respectively leaders of the Bell-Everett, the Breckinridge, the Douglas parties, and both wings of the Republican party, before the war. We are at the end of parties." *Harper's Weekly*, editorial, February 25, 1865.

² He was formally approved by the state conventions of both Union and Democratic parties in most of the states that held elections in 1865.

the winter of 1865-1866, raised questions of party conditions which also tended steadily to confirm the growth of Radicalism in the North. The rehabilitation of the rebel states, with an increased Congressional representation, would bring into national politics an element whose sympathy would be entirely with the Conservative Unionists if not with the Democratic party outright. For Radicalism in general, and especially for negro suffrage, which was the quintessence of the Radical creed, there was no hope in the policy of presidential reconstruction. Hence the Radical cry that Johnson's policy meant in fact a recombination of the Copperhead Democracy of the North with the Secession Democracy of the South to undo the work achieved by the Union armies. This cry proved exceedingly effective and turned Union men by thousands, especially those of Republican antecedents, from Conservative to Radical sympathy.

By the summer of 1866 it was clear that the machinery of the Union party was entirely in the hands of the Radicals, and the Conservatives made a final great effort to organize their cause and define their creed. Taking as their point of attack the obviously sectional character of the Radical programme, they called for an organization that should truly embody the Union idea by being really national in scope. In the famous National Union Convention at Philadelphia on August 14, 1866, an impressive demand was made for reconciliation of the sections and for a policy and a party that should command support in both South and North. This convention, participated in by men of the greatest reputation and influence from both Northern and Southern states, gave much uneasiness to the Radicals. To the claim that the assembly represented the true character of the Union party and made it national where it had before been purely sectional, they could reply and demonstrate that most of the delegates to the convention were former Democrats, and could affirm that the body was therefore merely an agency for reuniting the Democracy which had split in 1860. But they were troubled to show that Radicalism was anything but a purely sectional creed. To overcome this difficulty the cause of the Southern Loyalists was taken up with vehemence by the Radicals. Under Radical auspices a convention of Southerners was held at Philadelphia in September, and their wrongs, their sufferings, and their political aspirations received elaborate exploitation. But though they served a temporary purpose in giving a tinge of nationalism to the Radical programme, they proved much too scanty in numbers and too microscopic in influence to sustain for any time the pre-

tension of the Radicals to a party following in the South. It was this fact which was chiefly influential in bringing about the adoption of negro suffrage as the only remaining means of nationalizing the party. The reproach of sectionalism had been deeply felt by the ante-bellum Republicans; it would be a continuing burden on the Radicals; it could be removed by marshalling the freedmen in party array, and accordingly this policy was consented to by many to whom the injection of a great mass of ignorance and incapacity into the politics of the land was, as an abstract proposition, intensely hateful.

It was not till later, however, that this negro-suffrage phase of the Radical movement fully developed. For the electoral campaign of 1866 the extreme tendencies of Radicalism were kept in the background, in order not to repel lukewarm and wavering Conservatives. This campaign, in its progress and its result, made an epoch in party history. The Radicals won an overwhelming victory throughout the North, and this, since the Southern States were by the Radical policy excluded from participation in the government, meant a complete control of national affairs. The movement to nationalize the Union party on conservative lines, which had seemed to have such strength in August, was shown by November to have made no real impression on Northern sentiment. The participants in the movement fell gradually into affiliation with the Democrats or the Radicals, as circumstances or temperament dictated, and the conservative faction of the Union party ceased to exist.

With the completion of this process during 1867 and 1868 the new birth of Republicanism was at hand. With the great influx of Conservatives into the Radical wing of the Union party, the Radicalism was subjected to powerful toning influences. Though triumphant in the matter of negro enfranchisement, the extremists were thwarted in the impeachment of the President—the utmost project of their party policy. To the moderates the name of Radical was distasteful, as not corresponding to any fact in the existing situation of the party as a whole. "Unionist", the other half of the designation in which the Radicals had gloried, was, while not distasteful to the moderates, still no longer significant, since the practical restoration of the Union through the completion of reconstruction. The opposition to the party in power was now marshalled fully and completely under the banner of the ancient Democracy, and this fact greatly stimulated the consciousness of a relation to the old Republican party. Under the influence of these various circumstances the name "Republican" became increasingly

common in the place of both Unionist and Radical. This tendency reached its climax in the nominating convention of 1868, where, by direct vote of the convention itself, the official title of the organization was ordered to be: The National Union Republican Party.³ In this title may be discerned the chief elements which had figured in the new birth of Republicanism. It sprang from the loins of the Union party which brought the war to an end, and it was made "national" by the adoption of negro suffrage in reconstruction. Only in 1872 did the term "Union" disappear from the official title; and it is even more significant that at the National Convention of this year appeared for the first time a point-with-pride plank in the platform claiming for the party an unbroken connection with the Republicanism of 1860. In fine oblivion of the whole "Union" episode the platform asserted that the "Republican" party had been supreme for eleven years and had suppressed the rebellion and emancipated the slaves. Accuracy is not the chief virtue of party platforms, and we need not dwell on the degree to which the quality is present in these assertions. The significant fact for our purpose is that the assertions were made; for in this fact is the conclusive evidence that the reborn party had become fully self-conscious and was seeking, as is the habit of all strongly self-conscious personalities, to verify its ancestry and to associate itself with the glories of an historic past. In the three succeeding national platforms this same theory of historical continuity from 1854 was proclaimed, and thus the tradition became fully established. Hence even at the present day it is widely believed that the presidential election of 1864 was a "Republican" victory; that Andrew Johnson was an apostate from the "Republican" party; that Edwin M. Stanton was a "Republican" martyr; and that the party of which Benjamin F. Butler, John A. Logan, and Ulysses S. Grant were chiefs in 1868⁴ was identical with that in which William H. Seward, Salmon

³ In the debate on the rules governing the order of business in the convention Governor Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, moved to change the words "National Union Party", used in the committee's report, to "National Republican Party". The chairman said that the call for the convention used the title "National Union Republican Party", and accordingly, on motion of General Logan, this title was adopted. *New York Times*, May 21, 1868.

⁴ All five of the men mentioned were Democrats in 1860; and no one of them was ever thought of as a "Republican" before 1868. They were "Union" men. In the same category were Daniel E. Sickles, John A. Dix, and many other conspicuous politicians. On the other hand, five of the seven members of Lincoln's original cabinet, namely, Seward, Chase, Welles, Blair, and Bates, were in 1868 wholly out of sympathy with the party that nominated Grant, and one of the five, Chase, narrowly failed of securing the nomination of the Democracy in opposition to Grant. For Vice-President the Democrats nominated in 1868 General F. P. Blair, who was in 1860 a prominent Republican.

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P. Chase, and Abraham Lincoln had a corresponding place in 1860. The considerations that have been presented in this paper may suggest some of the qualifications with which this view of history is to be accepted.

WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

DOCUMENTS

Letters of Toussaint Louverture and of Edward Stevens, 1798-1800.

THE following body of documents will show how richly history is sometimes illustrated by the consular despatches preserved at the Department of State in Washington. In some cases, where a consular district has since been made a part of the United States, its history has become in the fullest sense a portion of United States history, and the despatches of our consuls at New Orleans, Galveston, or Monterey are to be correspondingly valued. There are other instances where, by the intention of the government or because of the absence of any higher representative of the United States, a consul has been obliged to assume quasi-diplomatic functions, and where consequently his observations and reports of action are important materials for American diplomatic history.

There are two reasons for valuing the letters of Edward Stevens herewith presented. In the first place, they give a vivid narration, written by an observer having uncommon ability, of the steps by which Toussaint Louverture rose to supreme power and independence of France. In this respect the letters may be left to tell their own story. It is a portion of a great and moving drama, more familiar to our great-grandfathers, who remembered Santo Domingo as the richest of all colonies, than to a generation to which the present island is insignificant. In the second place, the letters of Edward Stevens exhibit the manner in which the government of the United States dealt with an important crisis in its early diplomatic history. Mr. Henry Adams, in some of the best chapters of the most brilliant of American historical works, has shown how intimately the history of the United States was from 1798 to 1803 involved with the fate of the most unhappy of islands. In the first part of that period Edward Stevens was the chief instrument of American diplomacy there.

The series opens with a letter of Toussaint to President Adams, of November 6, 1798. Eighteen months before, the Directory had made him general-in-chief, with military command over the whole colony. On June 13, 1798, Congress, under the pressure of French aggression, had passed an act suspending commercial relations with

France and her dependencies. How hard this bore on Santo Domingo, and on Toussaint in his struggles with rivals like Rigaud, may be seen by the step he took in writing this letter of 16 Brumaire an VII. It had apparently not been received when, November 30, 1798, Secretary Pickering, writing to Mayer, consul at Cap Français (the present Cap Haytien), called his attention in a significant manner to the fact that the prohibition of trade expressed in the act of June 13 had been limited to places under the acknowledged power of France, and added the suggestion that, in consequence, if the inhabitants of Santo Domingo had ceased to acknowledge that power there existed no necessary barrier to the renewal of commerce.

Toussaint repeated his advances in a letter to Adams of 17 Ventose an VII. (March 7, 1799). Meantime however Congress had passed the act of February 9, 1799, which left it in the discretion of the President to open the Santo Domingo trade by proclamation whenever satisfied that the period of spoliations had ended; Pickering wrote Toussaint, March 4, that it would be thrown open if the depredations of privateers in the neighborhood of the island should absolutely cease; joint policy with Great Britain was arranged between the Cabinet at Philadelphia and General Maitland on his way out to the West Indies; and Edward Stevens was sent out as consul-general, with diplomatic powers shaped in accordance with a policy which separated Toussaint from France, enabled him to crush Rigaud, and aided him toward ultimate independence.

Edward Stevens was a man of great intelligence and ability. A native of the West Indies, married to the daughter of the Danish governor of Santa Cruz, he had long resided in the islands, and understood French. In some manner not now distinctly traceable, he was closely related to Hamilton. In a memorandum written in 1822,¹ Pickering says, after speaking of the determination to send out to Santo Domingo in 1799 an agent in the character of consul-general: "from my inquiries concerning Dr. Stevens, then in Philadelphia, he appeared in all respects singularly qualified for the office. . . . At the first glance, I was struck with the extraordinary similitude of his and General Hamilton's faces. . . . When young children, they lived together in the family of the father of Stevens, and were sent together to New York for their education." It will perhaps be remembered that Hamilton's precocious first letter, "Dear Neddy", etc.,² was addressed to him.

Stevens's mission ended soon after the date of the last of the

¹ Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 291.

² *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. J. C. Hamilton, I. 1-2.

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letters here printed.³ In a letter dated May 31, 1800, he had asked for his recall on account of ill-health. Jefferson sent out Tobias Lear in his place. But the treaty of Morfontaine and the new relations with the First Consul had wholly altered the situation, and Toussaint Louverture proceeded to his doom without further assistance from the United States.

Of the letters here printed, the first eight (two of Toussaint, six of Stevens) are in "Consular Letters, Cape Haytien, vol. I.", the remaining eleven (of Stevens) in vol. II. of the same.

I. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE TO PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS, NOVEMBER 6, 1798.

Liberté.

Égalité.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE,

Général en chef de l'Armée de Saint Domingue,
A Monsieur Adams, Président du Congrès
des États-unis d'Amerique.

Monsieur Le Président,

C'est avec la plus grande Surpise et la peine la plus sensible que je vois les navires de votre nation abandonner, depuis quelque tems, les ports de St. Domingue; renoncer, par là, à toute espèce de relations Commerciales avec nous et ne plus nous porter, en échange de nos riches productions, les denrées et commestibles du crû du Continent.

Je ne sais point, je ne chercherai pas même à pénétrer quels sont les motifs qui ont pu porter les Citoyens des Etats-unis à ce raffroidissement pour les Colonies françaises, je me bornerai uniquement à me concilier avec vous sur les moyens propres à rétablir la navigation et à faire arriver dans nos ports le pavillon Américain. Il est de son intérêt, autant que du notre, d'étendre son Commerce: Il ne dépendra pas de moi, soyes en bien convaincu, d'y contribuer.

Si les intentions du Congrès ou les votres étaient de changer quelque chose aux dispositions qui auraient pu être prises à cet égard et que j'ignore; S'il s'agit de faire respecter la Neutralité et de maintenir la bonne Armonie qui a toujours existé entre la République française et les Etats-unis d'Amerique; Si l'on sagit de faire exécuter les Traités entre les deux Républiques, vous pourés être assuré, Monsieur, que les Américains trouveront dans les ports de la République à St. Domingue protection et Sureté; que le Pavillon des Etats unis y sera respecté comme celui d'une puissance Amie et Alliée de la France; que les ordres seront donnés pour qu'il le soit par nos Corsaires en croisière; que je faciliterai, par tous les moyens qui sont en mon pouvoir, leur prompt retour dans leur patrie et qu'ils Seront exactement payés des cargaisons qu'ils nous apporterons.

Si la promesse que je vous fais, Monsieur, de protéger les Bâtimens de votre nation qui se rendront dans les ports de la République française en cette Colonie, peut les décider à y venir encore, je me feliciterai d'y avoir contribué et d'avoir rétabli entre le Continant et la Colonie de St.

³ The correspondence between Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin in 1804 shows much deliberation as to his claim for expenses.

Domingue ces relations qui, pour l'intérêt des deux Républiques, n'auraient jamais dû être Suspendues un seul instant.

Recever l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

Au Cap française le 16^e Brumaire
An 7^e de la République française,
une et indivisible.

II. EDWARD STEVENS TO TIMOTHY PICKERING, SECRETARY OF STATE.

CAPE FRANÇOIS 3d May 1799

Sir

I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to inform you that I landed in this City on the 18th ultimo. The particular Agent of the Executive Directory* was in Town, but the General in Chief[†] had returned to Gonaives three days before my arrival on very urgent Business.

As nothing could be done without his sanction, and I deemed it essential to the Interests of the United States to commence my Negotiation without delay, I thought it prudent to write him the annexed letter (No. 1), and expressed myself in strong terms to hasten his return to the seat of Government. He answered it immediately (No. 2) and arrived at the Cape the next morning. I had an interview with him directly and explained at full length, the friendly disposition of the American Government towards this Colony, and the Conditions on which it was desirous of renewing the commercial intercourse between the two Countries.

He received me very favorably—expressed much satisfaction, at the attention which had been paid to his letter by the Executive of the United States, and seemed particularly pleased, with the Presidents humane Permission to afford a temporary supply to the Colony, at a moment when it was reduced to the extremest Distress, by a total want of all the articles usually imported from America. We waited on the particular Agent together, and after some Discussion it was agreed, that a proclamation should be published immediately in which the essential points required by the Government of the United States should be acceded to. The next morning I received a copy of the intended Proclamation accompanied with a note (No. 3) from the Secretary of the Agency. Upon perusing this instrument, I found it totally inadmissible. The regulations respecting Privateers, were not sufficiently strong to repress their Depredations and the Language in which it was written was too loose and ambiguous. I therefore thought it best to state my objections in writing. I also added in plain, and precise Terms, the several concessions, without which it was impossible, the Ports of America could be opened. In the interview wch. succeeded this communication, the subject of the Arrêté was very minutely discussed. I endeavored as well as I was able, to obviate all the Objections, which were urged by the particular Agent, against the terms required by the Government of the United States. In this attempt I met with powerful support, from the General in Chief. His penetration and good sense, enabled him to see the Justice and Propriety of the President's Demands,

* Citizen Roume, who was nominally at the head of the civil administration.

[†] Toussaint Louverture, whose power was nominally confined to the military administration.

and after a very lengthy conversation, the *particular Agent himself*, was convinced that nothing was asked, but what was conducive to the prosperity of the Colony. The enclosed Arrêté was then drawn up, with the entire approbation of this Government. Some parts of it were still contrary to *my* Wishes, and I should never have consented to the Publication of it, had I not received the most solemn Assurances that what was *offensive* should not be strictly insisted on. I am happy to announce to you, Sir, that these Assurances have been since complied with, as I shall have an opportunity of shewing you in the course of the Remarks which I shall now proceed to make on this Proclamation.

The Preamble appears to be unexceptionable. It contains nothing more than some well grounded Reasons which have induced the Government of St. Domingo to enact the Laws which follow. The commencing paragraph of the first Article was necessary, as the Arrêté of the Executive Directory of the 13 Thermidor⁶ had never been published in this Colony tho' I had received a copy of it from the particular Agent himself in the month of October 1798, when he was Commissary at Santo Domingo. The subsequent parts of it, are strictly conformable to the Wishes of the President. It forbids any Commissions to be granted in future, except by the particular Agent of the Directory,—it annuls all Commissions hitherto granted, and requires them, to be delivered back to the Agency; in failure of which the Holders of them shall be declared Pirates;—it provides for the Security of the Persons and Property of American Citizens, and other Neuters, and expressly forbids the Administration, to take any Part of their Cargos, without previously obtaining the consent of the Captains and Super-Cargoes, as well with regard to the *Price*, as to the mode of payment. I objected to this article, "that calling in the Privateers would be attended with very little Advantage, if their Commissions were to be renewed". To which it was observed "that it was not meant to renew their Commissions. That sound policy demanded that the Captains of Privateers should still entertain a hope of obtaining fresh Commissions, in order to induce them to surrender their former ones. That otherways they might continue to cruize under their old Commissions, and do much mischief to those defenceless Vessels that might fall in their way". The strongest assurances, were at the same time given me, "that in proportion as the Privateers came in, they should be laid up".

I have no doubt, but that this promise will be complied with. It has been partly fulfilled already, as all the French Merchant Vessels, belonging to this port, that had Guns on board for their defence, without being furnished with Commissions, have been compelled to land their Arms, before they could be cleared out.

It has also given me much pleasure, to observe that since my arrival no American Cargo has been taken by the Administration before a regular Bargain has been made with the Owners. You may therefore consider the American Commerce in future, as perfectly secure against the Depredations of French Privateers from this place, and the vexations of the Administration, *notwithstanding anything that may appear to the contrary in the Arrêté*. It is needless to make any Remarks on the 2d. Article. As there are to be no more Privateers all the Regula-

⁶ In the second paragraph below, 13 Thermidor an III. is indicated; but the Executive Directory did not begin the exercise of its functions till 11 Brumaire an IV.

tions respecting them are useless. The essential point being tacitly obtained, and the Government thinking it prudent still, to publish these Regulations, for the reasons I have already mentioned, I thought it injudicious to cavil much about them. I beg leave only to assure the President, that I firmly beleive this Government will grant no new Commissions. To *his* wisdom and prudence I must leave it to determine, whether after such a solemn assurance, he will think himself authorised to open the ports.⁷ It may not be amiss here, to observe that even tho' Privateers (contrary to all expectation) should be still authorized to Cruize, yet there is nothing in the Laws of the 13 Thermidor of the 3d. year, and 3d. Brumaire of the 4th. year,⁸ which permits their depredations on neutral property. The first gives them permission to arm against the Enemies of France *only*, and the second regards merely the Division of their prizes. All other Laws of the Directory authorising Incursions on Neutral Property are by this article annulled, as far as they regard the Privateers of St Domingo. I have enclosed for the Presidents perusal the two Laws alluded to, together with the Letter (No. 5) that accompanied them from the Secretary of the Agency.

The 3d. Article permits the Merchant Vessels and Ships of War of the United States, to enter the Ports of this Island, whenever they please, and warrants them protection.

The 4th. Article annuls all former Decrees of the Agency of St. Domingo, which are contrary to the true meaning of the present Act.

What I have said relative to the 2d. Article may serve as a comment on the 5th. I will only add one observation. I was apprehensive that the Privateers, who are now on their Cruize, might endeavor to elude the Law, by carrying into unfrequented Ports, and plundering all Vessels they might take during the 30 days, within which they are obliged to deliver their Commissions. I therefore thot. it prudent to insist upon the Penalty being encreased, should an infraction of the Law be committed.

By the 6th Article all American Vessels taken after the Publication of this Law, shall be immediately restored without being entitled to Damages. After the expiration of 30 days, all vessels, that shall be taken, are *not only* to be restored, but the Owners of them shall be indemnified. The first Paragraph of this article indeed, appeared to me to be inadmissible. You will observe by the letter (No. 4) which I received from the particular Agent on this Business, that I endeavored to have it expunged. But after much Debate they consented that all vessels, which were at that moment on Trial should be released provided the Article remained. They thought it best however (to prevent a great deal of clamor, among the Owners of Privateers, who had been authorised to take prizes) that this acquittal should be the Act of the Tribunals, before whom the Prizes were tried. It might otherwise seem an arbitrary stretch of Power, that would give a great deal of discontent.

From the most accurate investigation I could make at the moment, there were only 4 Vessels in the ports of this Island considered as prizes. Those were at the Mole.⁹ Two of them had been unfortunately con-

⁷ As authorized by the act of February 9, 1799. Adams's proclamation, which followed on June 26, 1799, may be seen in Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, I. 288.

⁸ See note 6.

⁹ Mole St. Nicolas.

demned the day before, and the Captain of the Privateer had gone off with a copy of the Condemnation.

I immediately obtained an order addressed to the commanding Officer at the Mole to stop all proceedings against the Vessels; an Appeal was made to the civil Tribunal, and the acquittal will positively take place tomorrow. The other two were acquitted instantly.¹⁰ Thus you may observe Sir, that this part of the article has had no influence on the determinations of the Tribunals.

The 6th. 7th. and 8th. Articles were necessary, not only as a remark of Respect to the Government of the United States, but in order to give more security and weight to its Public Officers. With respect to the Power of judging of the validity of Securities offered to the Owners of Privateers, it is of no consequence.

As no Commissions will be granted, there will be nothing to do in that Business. The 9th. and 10th. Articles are customary additions to all public Acts.

I trust, Sir, that after a careful perusal of the Arreté, and the few Brief Remarks I have made on it, you will find that all the essential points contained in your Instructions to me are complied with.

1st. The most effectual Means have been used to call in the Privateers of this Colony, and annul their Commissions. And I can assure you, with Confidence, that methods equally effectual, will be taken to prevent them from being renewed.

2nd. The property of the Citizens of the United States will no longer be liable to be seized by the Government. Both that, and their persons, will in future be considered as sacred, and all their transactions, with the Administration, be conducted on the principles of Equity, and by mutual consent.

3rd. The armed Vessels of the United States, both public, and private, as well as mere Merchant Vessels, will be permitted freely to enter the Ports of the Island to victual, water and refit, and will in all Respects be received, and treated as Friends.

4th. All Vessels belonging to the United States, captured and carried into the ports of St. Domingo after the publication of the Arreté, will be immediately released. Should they be captured after 30 days from its being made public, they will not only be released, but the proprietors of them entitled to Damages.

I wished to have a clause inserted in this Proclamation by which advantages equal to those allowed to the Commerce of any other nation should be secured to the Citizens of the United States. But reflecting more maturely on the subject, I found it was unnecessary. All nations (except the French) have hitherto been on the same footing here, respecting the rates of Duties on Exports and Imports. The most tyrannical administrations, have never attempted to make any Innovations in the regulations of the Custom House. I therefore did not insist on the Insertion of this article after being positively assured that no change should take place, to the prejudice of America, in the rules which at present exist respecting the Commerce of Strangers.

¹⁰ "The Vessels above alluded to were vizt.

The Brig *Rebecca* of Boston, Capt. John Wardell

The Schooner *Sophia* of Newbern, Capt. Stephen Minor

The Brig *Delaware* of Baltimore, Capt. John White

The Sloop *Franklin* of Newfield, Capt. John Howland." (Note in original.)

If however Sir you should deem it absolutely necessary to publish such a regulation, you need only mention it to me, and I am sure it will be immediately complied with.

I urged very strongly the necessity of excluding from the ports of St. Domingo all French armed Vessels commissioned elsewhere; but it was thought impolitic to insert such an article in a public Instrument, which allowed a permission of entering these Ports, to the armed Vessels of America. There was no hesitation however in privately granting what I desired. Orders have in consequence been given to suffer no French armed Vessel, to come into the Ports of the Colony except under Circumstances, which would induce any civilized Nation, to afford them an Asylum, such as stress of weather, want of Provisions etc. etc. etc. And it is stipulated, that even in such circumstances, they shall not remain in Port a moment longer, than is necessary, and that great care shall be taken to prevent them from doing any mischief to neutral Commerce. When you add to these Regulations that the Island will be pretty closely invested both by British and American armed Vessels, and that our Merchant Vessels, which will be continually going in, and coming out of its ports, will also be armed, I beleive you will coincide with me in opinion that there is not much to dread in future from French Privateers, commissioned elsewhere.

I have thus Sir endeavored to explain such parts of this Proclamation as appeared contrary to the views of the President. I have taken much pains to penetrate and discover the Intentions of the Government respecting the Commerce of America. From all I have been able to collect, I think I can assure you, that "the Depredations, Aggressions, and Hostilities, which occasioned the Restraints and Prohibitions of commercial intercourse between this Colony, and the United States",¹¹ will not continue in future and that the Trade may of course be renewed with the utmost safety. For the wisdom and prudence of the President, it must be left to determine, whether it is "*expedient and for the interests of America*"¹² to renew the Commerce. Should he think proper to open the ports, I must beg leave to remark to you, that it is the wish of the General and chief, that the President would confine the permission of trading to this Island, to the Ports included between Monte Christi on the North and Petit Goave on the West, for the present.

This District is under the immediate Control of General Toussaint, and he will be responsible for every-thing that happens to American Vessels trading to the different ports contained in it.

From Petit Goave on the West, round Tiberoon to Jackamel¹³ on the South, is governed at present by *Rigaud*, and tho' he is subordinate in command to the General in Chief, yet the latter will not answer for any Vessels, that may go to *his* Ports. For these and other political reasons, he is desirous that no American Vessels, should go to the south side of this Island. He indeed wished at first to restrict the Trade to the Cape,¹⁴ and Port au Prince, but upon observing to him that this Restraint would be displeasing to the Government of the United States, he consented to leave it to the Discretion of the President, to open all, or as many of the Ports, as he thought proper, included in the limits I

¹¹ Partially a quotation from the non-intercourse act of June 13, 1798.

¹² Partially a quotation from the non-intercourse act of February 9, 1799.

¹³ Cape Tiburon; Jacmel.

¹⁴ Cap Français.

have mentioned. If you cast your Eyes upon a Map of the Island, Sir, you will observe, that from Monte Christi, to Petit Goave, a great number of very rich Ports are included, such as Fort Dauphin, the Cape, Port paix, the Gonaives, St. Marc, L'Arcahaye, Leogane, Port au Prince etc. etc. The General in Chief hopes, that in a very short time, he will be able to answer for the Ports on the South, with as much certainty, as for those on the North and West, and that in the mean Time, he will give such Proofs of his attention to the American Trade, as will induce the President to open these Ports, at his request.

In consequence of the Privileges granted in the Arreté, and the private assurances given me that what I had required in addition, and which Policy forbad the Government to publish, should also be complied with, I have given the General in Chief reason to beleive, that the President would open the Ports.

I beg leave to add an observation to shew, that the Renewal of the Commerce has now become not only an act of Policy, but also a measure of necessity. Notwithstanding the rigorous Laws enacted in America, to prevent Vessels from sailing to French ports, and the Vigilance of American Cruizers, the Flag of the United States is seen as frequently in every part of this Colony, as it was before the prohibiting Act was passed.

Several Mercantile Houses in America, regardless of the interests of their Country, have carried on a clandestine Trade with St. Domingo. My arrival has disconcerted them, and put a stop, to one of the most iniquitous attempts to frustrate the intentions of the American Government, that perhaps was ever formed. This I shall detail to you at full length in a future Letter.

From these considerations, Sir, I do not hesitate to pronounce it for the interests of America, that the Ports should be opened. Before this takes place however it is necessary to attend seriously to one circumstance, which is of the utmost importance. It has been publicly announced in America, that Great Britain wishes to participate in the Trade to this Colony.

If it is true, some immediate and amicable Arrangement should be made between that Country, and the Government of the United States. Otherwise the American Commerce will be liable to as much Interruption, after the ports are opened, as it has been during the operation of the restraining Acts. Letters from the British Minister at Philadelphia, to the Government of Jamaica, and Admiral Sir Hyde Parker,³⁵ containing any arrangements that may be made, will be of great service. I beg leave Sir, to repeat, that I think the Commerce may be renewed with safety, as far as it respects the Conduct of this Government, and that if the President should deem it expedient to open the ports, it is for the interests of America, that this should be done as quickly as possible.

I have the honor to be,
With great Respect and Esteem
Sir,
Your most obedt. Servt.

EDWARD STEVENS.

The Secretary of State.

³⁵ Commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station.

[Endorsed:] Edwd. Stevens Esq. May 3. 1799.

recd. May 26.

Duplicate original recd. May 25.¹⁶

III. EDWARD STEVENS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAITLAND.¹⁷

(Copy.)

GONAIVES May 23rd. 1799.

Sir

During my Residence at the Cape, last Year, I was informed by a black Chief in the Confidence of Gen: Hedouville,⁸ that the Agency of Saint Domingo had received positive Orders from the Executive Directory to invade both the Southern States of America and the Island of Jamaica. Gen: Toussaint was consulted on the best Mode of making the Attack, but having enter'd into a Convention with you to refrain from all military Expeditions against Jamaica he strenuously opposed this Invasion. Finding that Toussaint was inflexible, Hedouville turned his Attention towards Rigaud, whom he nominated to carry this Business into Execution. His sudden and unexpected Departure, however, put an immediate Stop to the Preparations which had been commenced. Toussaint was firm in his Opposition, and Rigaud was afraid of disobeying him. But the repeated Orders of the Directory have lately made Rigaud more bold. A Duplicate of the Plan for the Invasion of Jamaica was sent to this Colony in the Month of Jany:, by the french Frigate *La Vestale*. A Triplicate was also recd: in Feby: by a small Schooner that sail'd last Year from the Cape with *Barney* and Gen: *Vautrin*. Thus it appears that the Attack of Jamaica is a favourite Measure of the Directory, and Rigaud (to acquire their Confidence) has, at length, disclaimed the Authority of Toussaint, and is, at this Instant, busily employed in levying Troops for the Purpose. He is, at present, at the Head of 10,000 Men, and has sent down a white Emissary to excite the Negroes in Jamaica to revolt, and be ready to join him at his Arrival. Toussaint is determined to prevent this Expedition, in Conformity to his Treaty with you. He has forbidden Rigaud to continue his Preparations, and is resolv'd to march against him and reduce him to Obedience. I have taken the Liberty of communicating these Facts to you, Sir, because they are important. As you are going to Jamaica I beg Leave to submit to your Consideration whether it would not be proper to lay them before Lord Balcarres¹⁹ and Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. It may possibly suggest to the former the Advantage of

¹⁶ In a letter of June 1, replying to this, Pickering declared to Stevens that it would be impossible to make use of Toussaint's private assurances, and that something more formal must be obtained.

¹⁷ Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Maitland, who had commanded British forces in Santo Domingo since 1797. Earlier in this spring, in conference with the Cabinet at Philadelphia, he had arranged a joint policy for Great Britain and the United States in the island. For the terms of this agreement, see *Works of John Adams*, VIII. 639.

¹⁸ General Hédouville, "the pacificator of the West" of France, had lately visited Santo Domingo in an ineffectual endeavor to bring Toussaint, Rigaud, and other black and mulatto chiefs, into a real subordination to the Directory.

¹⁹ Governor of Jamaica.

making such internal Regulations as the present Exigency may require, for the Safety of the Colony under his Command; and to the latter the Propriety of more closely investing the southern Part of St: Domingo. Such Measures would essentially cooperate with Toussaint in preventing the Blow which Rigaud meditates, and which might, otherwise, prove fatal to the Island of Jamaica. I have the Honor to be with great Respect and Esteem,

Sir

Your most obed: Hum: Servt.

E. STEVENS

The Hon:

Brigadier General Maitland

On Board his Majesty's Ship

Camilla

IV. STEVENS TO SECRETARY PICKERING.

L'ARCAHAYE June 23rd: 1799.

Sir

I had the Honor of receiving your Dispatch No: 3 from General Maitland, on the 13th: Inst.:. That Gentleman found it in the Hands of Mr. Wigglesworth at Jamaica, and was kind enough to bring it up in the *Camilla*. Anticipating his Arrival I was waiting for him at St: Marks with Gen: Toussaint, and, as soon as it was announced to us that he had anchored at L'Arcahay, we set out to join him. All the preliminary Arrangements being made before Gen: Maitland's Departure from Gonaives, and having had full Leisure to converse with Gen: Toussaint, respecting the Regulations for the coasting Trade, I found no Difficulty in obtaining every Thing we wished on that Subject. Nothing more was necessary than to have the projected Alterations inserted, and to have the Papers copied and signed, in order to conclude the Negotiation finally.

I now have the Honor of transmitting you a Copy of this secret Convention,²⁰ together with the Regulations for the coasting Trade. You will observe, Sir, that they do not differ materially from the temporary Agreement, which I enclosed you in my last Dispatches. The Clause which I deemed so essential to the Security of the Southern States of America is now inserted. The secret Assurance I obtained from Gen: Toussaint, "that no Privateers should in future be commissioned from this Island", has been formally avowed. Every essential Point contained in the Arrêt respecting the Safety of American Commerce, is more amply detailed and confirmed.

In Conformity to your Instructions I have cooperated with Gen: Maitland, as much as lay in my Power, to accomplish this important Business, and I hope that what has now been done will meet with the President's Approbation.

As the Convention, however, is a secret one, it is perfectly understood, both by Gen: Toussaint and Gen: Maitland, that it is not to be made publick in America. The Publication of his former Treaty with the British,²¹ and the numerous Paragraphs inserted in the english

²⁰ Secret convention of June 13, 1799, between Toussaint and Maitland.

²¹ Presumably the arrangement made at the time of General Maitland's evacuation of Mole St. Nicolas, in October, 1798.

Papers relative to it, have materially injured Toussaint in this Colony. His Enemies have used it as a powerful Weapon against him, and he himself is so much displeased at this Want of Secrecy in the British Cabinet, that his Confidence in it is much diminished. And I am convinced he would never have renewed the Negotiation with Gen: Maitland, had not the latter been powerfully aided and supported by the Mediation of America. 'Tis the Publicity of this Instrument that prevents him from receiving Col: Grant. I urged this Matter as far as it was prudent, but finding the State of Politics in the Colony such that Gen: Toussaint could not admit him, at present, without disgusting his leading Chiefs, I thought it prudent to discontinue my Solicitations. Of my Zeal in this Business Gen: Maitland is well convinced, and he coincides with me in Opinion that it would not be politic to push it farther, at this critical Moment. I have, however, prevailed on Toussaint not to alter the first Arrangement, respecting the Colours of the British Vessels. They will be permitted to come in, and go out, as Flags of Truce, on Condition that they wear no Colours in Port.

It is of the utmost Consequence That all American Vessels trading to St: Domingo should be well acquainted with the Restrictions that have been agreed on between General Maitland and Toussaint. Any Infringement of these Regulations might render them liable to Capture and Confiscation, not only by British Cruisers, but even in the Ports of St: Domingo. Gen: Maitland has already written to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Balcarras, at Jamaica; to the Governor of the Bahama Islands, and also to the Governor of Bermuda. To all of these Arrangements are made known, and it is perfectly understood that my Passeport alone shall be sufficient to protect all Vessels legally trading to this Island, until a British Agent can be admitted. *Then* the Passeport must be a joint one. I shall request Gen: Maitland to write also to Admiral Harvey, on the Windward Island Station. It may not be amiss to obtain a Letter to him, likewise, from Mr: Liston.²² By these means every Chance of interrupting the American Commerce will be prevented, and there will be no Risk in opening the Ports on the 1st: of August, as already stipulated.

As Col: Grant will not be permitted to exercise his Functions as British Agent in St: Domingo, and Gen: Maitland could not fix upon a proper Person in Jamaica to supply his Place, he has warmly solicited me to superintend the English Commerce with this Colony, until some Resolution can be formed by Lord Balcarras on the Subject. Knowing the political and commercial Views of the two Governments to be similar, as far as respects the Island of St: Domingo, and thinking that I might be instrumental in continuing that Harmony which now subsists between them, I readily assented. I shall continue to do every thing in my Power to protect the British Commerce here, as far as is consistent with the Interest *of* and my Duty *to* the United States. Should there be any Impropriety in my performing this temporary Service, I beg you, Sir, to acquaint me, and I will immediately relinquish it.

I hinted to you in my last that the pressing Wants of Gen: Toussaint inclined me to consent to a small temporary Supply of Provisions being sent him from Jamaica. I assented to this Request the more readily as Gen: Maitland informed me that it was understood by the American Government, that it might be done, should it be necessary. The Per-

²² British minister in the United States.

mission appeared to me to be essential at the Time it was granted, and the Occurrences that have since taken place convince me that I conjectured right. Gen: Toussaint has, at this Moment, an Army of 12000 Men in this Neighbourhood, and not a single Pound of Flour or Salt Provisions, to give them. The Supply from Jamaica is not yet arrived. He looks out for it with the utmost Anxiety. Should it be delayed much longer, all his Plans will be deranged, and the Prospect of a lucrative Commerce wt: which America has been flatter'd, will be entirely destroyed. Viewing the Matter in this Light, I thought it advantageous to the Interests of America to consent to the Supply, especially as it is intended entirely for the Use of Toussaint's Army, is small and limited, and will be consumed before the Ports are open'd, and, of course, will have no Influence on the Market.

The Negotiation of Gen: Maitland being brought to a Close, it appears to me, that Nothing is now wanting to ensure the Safety of the American Commerce. The Arreté published before his Arrival, and the Convention he has enter'd into with Gen: Toussaint contain every essential Point which you directed me to insist upon, both in your original Instructions, and subsequent Letters. Should any Thing have escaped *me* or occur to *you* which may be deemed necessary to be obtained, you need only suggest it to me, Sir, and you may rely on my utmost Exertions to accomplish it.

I have the Honor to be with great Esteem and Respect
Sir

Your most obed: Serv^t:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: Timothy Pickering,

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Dr. Edward Stevens

L'Arcahaye, June 23. 1799.

recd. Septr. 4th.

With copy of secret convention
between Genl. Maitland and Genl.
Toussaint and copy of regulations
for the coasting trade.

V. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

L'ARCAHAYE June 24th. 1799.

Dear Sir

My Apprehensions of an immediate Rupture between the rival Chiefs of this Colony have been realised. Rigaud has actually commenced Hostilities and taken forcible Possession of *petit* and *grand Goave*, two Districts which formerly appertained to the Department of Toussaint. At the latter Place he is encamped with an Army of 4000 Men. Toussaint is now at Leogane with 20,000. Rigaud's Army is well fed, well clothed, and well paid. The uninterrupted Trade he has carried on from the South with St: Thomas, the Continent of America, and The Island of Jamaica, has supplied him with Plenty of Provisions, Clotheing, and Ammunition. The arbitrary and oppressive Contributions he has levied from the Inhabitants of the South, and the Application of all the publick Revenue, for several Years past, to his own private Purposes, have given him a great Command of Money. His Infantry are well disciplined,

and his Cavalry the best in the Colony. The former consists of black Troops that have served under him since the Commencement of the Revolution, and a few of the Cultivators whom he has deceived and induced to espouse his Cause, by Misrepresentation and Bribery. The latter is composed entirely of Mullattoes. These are the best Horsemen in the Colony. From Indolence and Pride these People seldom travel on foot, and being accustomed to ride from their Infancy, they acquire a Facility of managing a Horse, which renders them superior to the Negroes. Add to this that they are allways much better mounted.—Toussaint's Army, on the contrary, is in want of every Thing. He has but little Ammunition, and few Military Stores. There is not, at present, a Barrel of Flour or Salt Provisions in this Port of the Island, and his Troops are but indifferently clad. All these Circumstances have induced him, hitherto, to remain on the defensive, and have enabled Rigaud to gain ground. He is only waiting for the Supplies he momentarily expects from Jamaica, to put his Forces in Motion and strike a vigorous Blow. When he commences his Operations the Contest will be but short. Toussaint has on *his* Side most of the Blacks, and all the Whites of the Colony. His humane and mild Conduct has render'd him respectable to the latter, and they now look up to him as their only Shield against the cruel Tyranny of Rigaud. When the latter had got Possession of Petit Goave, all the whites in Port au Prince rose in a Mass, and desired Permission to march against him; but Toussaint objected to it, observing that they had already suffered Misfortunes enough by the Revolution, and that he had Men enough to finish the Contest, and protect *them*, without subjecting them again to the Horrors of War. Besides this decided Support of the Inhabitants in his Favor, Toussaint acts *apparently* under the Sanction of the french Republic, while the other is considered as a Rebel and Outlaw. All the public Acts of the Agent are in favor of Toussaint, and hostile to his Rival. In this Line of Conduct will Rouse continue as long as he is invested with any public Authority. The fact is, that he dare not do otherwise. He is, at present, no better than a dignified Prisoner at the Cape, from whence he is not permitted to depart. Possessing only the Semblance of Power, he will be tolerated for a Time, as useful in signing such Edicts as Toussaint dictates, and giving an Appearance of Legality to his Proceedings. As soon as Rigaud falls, Rouse will be sent off, and from that Moment the Power of the Directory will cease in this Colony. I hinted to you, some Time ago, my suspicion that Rigaud was privately supported by the french Government, from the cruel Policy of weakening both Mullattoes²³ and Negroes, by fomenting and keeping up a Contest between them. Every Day confirms me more in this Opinion, and I have now no doubt that the Agent is the secret and diabolical Instrument employed by them for this Purpose. He certainly is privately in the Interests of Rigaud, and Toussaint seems well acquainted with this Fact. Policy, however, induces him to temporise. A few Days ago he wrote him a very severe Letter, which he read to me. He accuses him of Weakness, Indecision, and a criminal Neglect of his Duty, and imputes to him all the Misfortunes which the Colony has suffered since the Commencement of his Administration. He concludes with calling to his Recollection that he has requested him three several

²³ Rigaud, it will be remembered, was the chieftain of the mulattoes, Toussaint of the blacks.

Times to publish a Proclamation of Outlawry against Rigaud, that he repeats this Request, for the last Time, and nothing but his prompt Obedience will convince him that the Government stands in any further Need of his Services. I can readily anticipate the Result of this Mandate. *Roume* will publish the Proclamation, tho' reluctantly, and will then be suffered quietly to strut about the Government House in the Costume of Agency, until some Thing else is required of him.

As I have mentioned the Capture of petit and grand Goave it may be proper to give you the Particulars of that Event. After having massacred most of the principal white Inhabitants of Aux Cayes, *Jeremie* and *Miraguan*, Rigaud marched against Petit Goave with 4000 Men. Toussaint had in this advanced Post only 700 Men, under the Command of General *Laplume*; but these Men were part of a Brigade under the immediate Command of *Christophe Momet*, Commandant of Port au Prince. Formidable as his army was, the Officer who commanded for Rigaud, was afraid to attack *Laplume* openly. He, therefore, had Recourse to Stratagem. The Commander of the national Guard, who was a Mullattoe in the Interest of Rigaud, and deserted from Petit Goave on the first Appearance of his Friends, but afterwards affected to be sensible of his Error, and solicited Permission to return to his Duty. *Laplume* very imprudently consented to it, and suffered *him* and the Troop that had deserted with him, to come back to Petit Goave. Being in concert wt: the 700 Men who had been corrupted by *Christophe Momet* their Commander, and *Pierre Louis Mason* their Lieutenant Colonel (both Traitors, who have been since arrested and imprisoned) they took Possession of the Town in the Night, and murdered every Person they could find, without respect to Age or Sex. *Laplume* narrowly escaped being taken Prisoner. Some of the wretched Fugitives have arrived here in Canoes, and give a horrid Account of the Barbarity of these bloody Monsters. Since this Affair *Laplume* made an unexpected Sally from *Leogane*, in two Columns, routed Rigaud's Troops, retook grand Goave, and drove them as far as *Tapion*, a Mountain in the neighbourhood of Petit Goave. Nothing more has yet been done. Toussaint's Position is very strong. *Acul* and *Leogane* are impregnable by any Force that Rigaud can bring against them, and as soon as the black Troops receive a Supply of Provisions and Stores they will push on to retake Petit Goave. The whole Force that Rigaud can bring into the Field is 5500 Men, and with these he has a large Extent of Coast to defend; while Toussaint can easily embody four Times the Number. It is reported that *Jackamel* has been taken by a Party of Toussaint's Troops under the Command of General *La Fortune*, and *Mademoiselle*, and that *Bauvais*²⁴ has escaped to St: Thomas, but this Wants Confirmation. A great Number of Mullattoes have been taken up and imprisoned in this Village and other Parts of the Colony. The strictest Vigilance is observed in the Police thro' the whole Country, and great Care taken to arrest all suspected Persons. This is the actual State of Things.

The Causes that have brought on this Contest are partly detailed in the Letters of Toussaint and the Agent which I enclose, and may be partly attributed to the Jealousy which naturally exists between two

²⁴ "Notwithstanding the favourable Terms in which Toussaint speaks of *Bauvais* in the pointed Letter I enclose you he has since discover'd him to be a Traitor and devoted to Rigaud." (Note in original.)

rival Chiefs, whose Theatre of Acting is limited. The one *proud, haughty and cruel*, and agitated by a restless Ambition, views with Impatience a Negro at the Head of Affairs and in Possession of that Power, which he thinks is due alone to his superior Talents. The other more mild and humane thinks that the Interests of human Nature require this Man to be deposed, and that the Authority he himself possesses is justly merited by the Services he has render'd the Colony. Both wish to reign, but by different means, and with different Views. Rigaud would deluge the Country with Blood to accomplish this favourite Point, and slaughter indiscriminately whites, blacks, and even the leading Chiefs of his own Colour. The Acquisition of Power, with him, is only desirable because it would enable him to indulge, without Restraint, his cruel and sanguinary Passions. Toussaint, on the contrary, is desirous of being confirmed in his Authority by the united Efforts of all the Inhabitants, whose Freind and Protector he wishes to be consider'd, and, I am convinced, were his Power uncontroled he wd: exercise it in protecting Commerce, encouraging Agriculture and establishing useful Regulations for the internal Government of the Colony.—'Tho' the Dissension between these Chiefs is of an old Date, and Rigaud has been long making Preparations to force the supreme Command from the Hands of Toussaint, yet I do not imagine that the Explosion would have taken place so soon, had it not been for the Circumstances that have recently occurred. The Publication of Gen: Maitland's Treaty at the Mole, and the many injudicious Paragraphs that were inserted in the english Papers gave an Air of Plausibility to a Tale, which Rigaud studiously propagated, that the Colony of St: Domingo was to be sold to the british Government, and once more brought under the Yoke of Slavery. But when the *Camilla* appeared off the Cape and British Officers were seen landing in their Uniform, even the Freinds of Toussaint were stagger'd. Nor was the Story less confirmed, in Appearance, when the Frigate touched at the Mole, and anchor'd at Gonaives for several Days. The secret Conferences of Gen: Maitland with Toussaint at Decataux, excited Suspicions in the Minds of the Cultivators, and added a Force to the Insinuations of his Enemies, which all the Efforts of his Freinds were unable to resist. Rigaud triumphantly appeals to these Facts in a Declamation he lately published against Toussaint. Mutiny, Desertion and Treachery were the immediate Effects of Rigaud's Intrigues and Toussaint's unsuspecting Conduct. Several Bodys of his Troops deserted to the South, and a few subaltern Officers, whom he thought strongly attached to him, went off to his Rival. By vigorous and decided Measures, however, he quieted these Disturbances, and every Thing was reduced to order when the *Camilla* again made her Appearance at L'Arcahay, where she has continued from the 11th: Inst: until this Day. The same Suspicions, the same Intrigues of his Enemies have been renewed, and 'tho' I beleive Toussaint will again suppress them, yet you would scarcely credit the Mischief that has been done. This last Visit has thrown many Obstacles in the Way of Gen: Maitland's Negotiation, and prevented Toussaint from doing many things which he was well inclined to do, but which the critical Situation of his Affairs would not admit of. It has thrown an effectual Bar in the Way of Col: Grant's Agency, and may perhaps prevent any other Person from being received. My Efforts in favour of the british Interests will become more difficult, and my Situation be rendered more unpleasant. You may be

assured, however, Sir, that I shall not omit any Thing that lays in my Power to promote the joint Interests of both Countries.

With respect to the Issue of the Contest between Toussaint and Rigaud, I own I am not apprehensive. As far as I can judge, (and I have taken much pains to acquire Information, not only from my own Observation, but also from the Report of others) as soon as the former has furnished his Army with what it wants and taken the Field, the latter must yield. Toussaint runs no Risk from open Force. He is too powerful. His only Danger is from internal Treason; but as he is now on his guard, and has taken every necessary Precaution to prevent it, I beleive he is tolerably safe, even from that Hazard.

It will readily occur to you, Sir, that if Toussaint should prove unsuccessful, all the Arrangements we have made respecting Commerce must fall to the Ground. The most solemn Treaty would have little Weight with a Man of Rigaud's capricious and tyrannical Temper. This Circumstance points out the absolute Necessity of supporting Toussaint by every legal Measure, and it was this which induced me to consent to the small temporary Supply which he is to receive from Jamaica. I hope it will come in Time to serve him until the Ports are open'd, which I have given him every Reason to beleive would be done on the Day appointed. I beg Leave here to repeat what I have already hinted in all my Letters, that it might be prudent to direct some of the American Ships of War to cruise on the south Side of the Island, and about Jeremie, in order that they might co-operate with the British in cutting of all Supplies of Provision and Ammunition.

I am sorry to inform you that the present civil War will have a considerable Influence on the Agriculture of this Island, and diminish the Exports of the present Year not a little. The Cultivators began to be industrious, and the Expectation of selling their Produce, made them labour with alacrity; but a great many of them have of late been drafted for the Army. Most of the Horses, Mules, Oxen and Carts belonging to the different Plantations have also been put in Requisition. The Proprietors of Estates, therefore, can neither bring in the Produce which is already prepared for Market, nor prepare more. It is estimated that in the Quarter of Jeremie there is still 10 Millions of Coffee not exported. At petit and grand Goave, Miraguan, and Leogane there is also a large Quantity. All this will be lost to the commercial World while the War lasts. Under the old System the District of L'Arcahaye made annually 30 Millions of Sugar. During the Residence of the british it exported 24 Millions. This Year it has a Prospect of making 7 Millions. What it will *actually* make, it is impossible to ascertain, as many of the Planters are obliged to cease grinding, and there is an entire Stop put to Labour. What I have said of the Places above mention'd applies equally well to the other Ports of the Island. They have all severely felt the Calamities attendant upon the present Contest.

I have just been informed that the *Sprightly* has made her Appearance, and that it will be necessary to send off my Letters. I beg Leave to send you a Letter which I have just received from Gen: Maitland, and which announces his Departure for England. Should any Accident prevent the Cutter from sailing immediately I will enclose you also a Copy of his Instructions to Col: Grant. They will shew you

that the Views of Great Britain are exactly similar to those of the united States respecting this Colony. I remain Dr: Sir

With great Esteem and Respect

Your most obed: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

Timothy Pickering Esqr.

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Dr. Edwd. Stevens

L'Arcachay June 24. 1799.

recd. Sept. 4th.

VI. TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE TO PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS, AUGUST 14, 1799.

Liberté.

Égalité.

AU PORT DE PAIX, le 27 Thermidor

an 7 de la République française une et indivisible.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE,

Général en chef de l'Armée de Saint-Domingue,

A Monsieur John Adams,

Président des Etats-unis de l'Amerique.

Monsieur le Président,

Monsieur Edward Stevens m'a Communiqué la lettre que vous lui avez écrite relativement aux mesures que vous avez prises par votre Proclamation; Je n'ai pu voir sans plaisir, votre attention à les mesures sur les convenances et les localités d'un Pays que vous ne prevoyiez pour devoir être si-tôt exposé aux fureurs de la Guerre-civile.

Rigaud qui Commandait sous mes ordres le Département du Sud de St. Domingue pour satisfaire son orgueil et son ambition, vient de lever l'Étendard de la Révolte contre son chef légitime, contre l'autorité nationale. Sécouant partout les Brandons de la Discorde, il a allumé la guerre civile dans son propre Pays. Il a commencé ses hostilités par la surprise des Grand et Petit Goave, et l'assassinat des Blancs qu'il y trouva fut le prélude de ses forfaits. Cette Conduite criminelle et atroce força l'agent du Gouvernement à le déclarer rebelle, à le mettre hors de la loi, et à requérir la force pour la punir de ses attentats. Je dirigiai en conséquence la force armée de St. Domingue sur le Département du Sud: Mais le machiavelisme de ce rebelle qui se préparait depuis longtems à l'exécution de son Projet infâme, avait fait germer dans le nord et dans l'ouest ses Principes de Destruction; et alors qu'à la tête de l'armée sous mes ordres, Je reprenais le Grand Goave, et me desposais à poursuivre les rebelles jusqu'aux Extrêmes du Sud, les hommes de couleur dans tous les quartiers du nord et de l'ouest organisant partout la Révolte, complotèrent contre la sureté publique, chacun dans leurs quartiers respectifs. Le Môle fut le premier à déclarer sa revolte. J'accouru aussitôt pour l'arracher aux Rebelles; et mon passage à St. Marc, aux Gonaives y détourna le même malheur. Un Jour plus tard ces deux Endroits succombaient sous les efforts des Conspireurs. Forcé par ces Incidens de ralentir ma marche sur le môle, Je ne pus y arriver assez-tôt pour empêcher la propagation de cette Insurrection qui devait être générale. Elle gagne le Jean rabel et la

Dépendance du Port de Paix dont la ville cernée de toute part ne laissait plus à son brave commandant que la résolution de s'ensevelir sous ses ruines plutôt que de trahir ses devoirs en se rendant à des Brigands. Instruit du Danger de cette ville, Je courus la s'égayer. En effet, mon arrivée intimida les Rebelles qui se replièrent à Jean rabel où, couverts de leurs fortifications, ils attendent les troupes que Je fais venir pour les réduire.

De tous les moyens coercitifs que Je peux employer pour comprimer la criminelle audace du Rebelle Rigaud et des Sectateurs de son révolte, Je ne puis faire usage que de ceux que m'offre la nature du Pays; mais il en est de bien puissamment repressifs qui me manquent, ce sont ceux qu'offre la mer. Sans Marine, les forbans du Sud qui infestent nos Côtes, pillent et assaillent impunément français et Etrangers qu'ils rencontrent, et se portent à des Excès qui outragent le ciel et la Terre. Ils renforcent avec leurs Barges les Places rebelles du Nord sans que Je puisse y mettre obstacle, par le défaut de Bâtimens propres à donner, la chasse à ces forbans. C'est pour mettre un terme à leur piraterie, pendant que Je m'occuperai à les réduire par terre par la force des armes, que, confiant dans votre loyauté, dans vos principes de Justice, Je vous fais la demande de quelques Bâtimens armés en guerre qui puissent remplir l'objet proposé. En acquiesçant à ma demande vous aurez la gloire d'avoir concouru et fait concourir votre nation à l'Extinction d'une Rebellion odieuse aux yeux de tous les Gouvernemens de la Terre.

C'est peu que par votre Proclamation vous ayez défendu l'entrée des Bâtimens de votre nation dans les Ports de St. Domingue autres que le Cap et le Port Republicain, cette mesure se trouvera sans effet, si vous n'obligez à son exécution par une force coercitive quelconque, ainsi en adhérant à la demande que Je vous fais de quelques Bâtimens de Guerre, vous reprimez une Rebellion, qu'il est de l'Intérêt de tous les Gouvernemens d'étouffer, et vous faites exécuter les propres volontés du Gouvernement dont vous êtes l'organe.

C'est dans l'Espoir de vous voir adhérer à ma Demande que Je vous renouvelle l'assurance de mon Estime et de ma Vénération particuliere ainsi que de tous les autres Sentimens que vous m'avez inspirés, et avec les quels J'ai l'honneur d'être respectueusement

Monsieur le Président, Votre très humble et
très obéissant Serviteur,
TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

VII. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS Sep: 30th: 1799.

Dear Sir

Before my Departure from Philadelphia I had the Honor of communicating to you the Intention of the Executive Directory to invade the Island of Jamaica and the southern States of America. The Execution of this Plan was entrusted to Gen: Hedouville and met with his most ardent Approbation but his sudden and unexpected Rupture with Toussaint did not allow him Time to accomplish it. Since his Return to France the Order for the Attack of the former has been renewed and so determined is the french Government on the Invasion that every successive Courier from France has brought out a Copy of

the Plan; and the most pressing Solicitations to carry it into immediate Effect.

During my Conferences with General Maitland I deemed this Matter of so much Importance that I did not hesitate to communicate it to him. I also wrote him on the Subject, a Copy of which Letter I transmitted to you. Ever since he left this Colony I have been endeavoring to obtain a Copy of the Plan but it is only within these few Days that I have been able to succeed. While T——t was in Town several Schemes were presented to him by a Mullatto General of Brigade called *Martial Besse* who has been sent out by the Directory for the express Purpose of commanding the Expedition. Of all these I obtained Copies. Some of the most important I now have the Honor of enclosing to you as also a Plan which was presented by *Sas Portas* a Jew who for several Years carried on a contraband Trade between St: Iago de Cuba and Port Antonio in Jamaica and who seems perfectly acquainted with the Strength and local Situation of the latter Island. The Copies I send you contain the Essence of this Scheme. The other Papers which are still in my Possession are only Repetitions of these. They consist of a Plan offered by one *Dubuisson* an emigrant Officer who was in the English Service while they were in Possession of the western Parts of this Colony and who to shew his Gratitude for the Kindness they at that Time shewed him has very generously offered to assist in an Expedition for laying waste by Fire and Sword one of their richest and most flourishing Possessions. I have also an additional Plan presented by *Martial Besse* which is only an Amplification of that projected by *Sasportas*. He has accompanied it with separate Letters of Instruction to *Dubuisson* and *Sasportas* which contain nothing but what is mentioned in his two Plans.

I shall make no Comments on this diabolical Attempt to extend the destructive Influence of french Principles and to add another Million to those which already crouch under the Iron Sceptre of modern Liberty, and Equality. A bare Perusal of it will sufficiently point out the evil Consequences which would ensue could it be accomplished. I have thought it of such Moment that Lord Balcarras and Admiral Sir Hyde Parker should be acquainted with it that I have given Mr: Charles Douglass the British Agent a Copy of the Plan and advised him strongly to go down to Jamaica to confer with the Heads of the Government and take effectual Measures to counteract it. He will leave this in a few Days and as soon as I know the Result of his Conference I shall lose no Time in communicating it to you.

Wild and impracticable as this Scheme of Invasion may appear in the actual State of this Colony it is astonishing with what Ardour the Particular Agent seems to urge it. Without Troops, Arms, Ammunition, Clothing or any of the Essentials requisite for raising or equipping an Army he strains every Nerve and has sent his Emissaries to Curacoa, St. Thomas and Guadaloupe to furnish him with the Means of effecting his Purpose. Toussaint on the other Hand is determined that the Invasion shall not take Place. He appears to encourage it that he may the more certainly prevent it. He has refused to furnish Troops urging as a Plea that the War in the South requires every Man that can be raised. His confidential Officers are of the same Opinion with him and are altogether opposed to this Expedition. They have too much Penetration not to perceive that the Jamaica Invasion is a coun-

terpart of the Egyptian Expedition and that were they to quit St: Domingo there is little Chance that they would ever return to it. It was T——t who furnished me with the Plans and he at the same Time entreated me to counteract the Agent's Operations by every possible Means. Having intimated to me that it was projected to take up American Vessels to transport the Troops which might be raised to Jamaica I thought it best in Conjunction with Mr: Douglass to refuse any further Passports to such Vessels belonging to the U. States as might in future apply for Permission to go down to that Island. This we thought the most effectual Method to prevent a mercenary Captain from carrying down intriguing Persons or armed Men who might do a Mischief which could not easily be remedied and in which the Agents of the U. States might be implicated without their Knowledge or Intention. I the more readily consented to this temporary Suspension of Passports as the Instant the Circumstance is known in America it will cease to be an Inconvenience. Vessels will then go direct to Jamaica and the Trade suffer no Interruption.

It is not difficult to penetrate the Motives which have induced the Directory to urge the Invasion of Jamaica at the present Moment. Either T——t and his Army will succeed or not if they make the Attempt. Success would forever separate from Great Britain one of her most valuable Colonies and diminish her Resources. Should they fail they will fall Victims to their Rashness and Presumption or like Buonaparte and *his* Army cease to be Objects of Dread or Jealousy to the Government of France. The old System might then be restored in St: Domingo and Slavery reestablished.

The coloured People both here and in France seem to be well acquainted with the Designs of the Directory. The Ex Commissary Raimond in one of his Letters to Christophe²⁵ relates the Intention of the Government to invade Jamaica, unveils the insidious Tendency of this Expedition and points out it's destructive Consequences to the Liberty of the Blacks in St: Domingo. He tells him in plain Terms that the Directory wish by these Means to get rid of T——t, his principal Officers and his Army. He earnestly entreats him not to fall unwarily into the Snare but to be content with the Liberty that has been established in St: Domingo without attempting to extend it to the neighbouring Colonies. This Advice I am convinced will be strictly adhered to and I am firmly of Opinion that if ever an Expedition against Jamaica should take place it will be without the Approbation or Concurrence of the leading Blacks. Christophe has had some severe Discussions with the Agent on this Subject and the latter seems now to place his principal Dependence on the Exertions of *Martial Besse*. That this Man should be seriously inclined to further the Views of the Directory is not surprising. Here he is nothing. In Jamaica he would be the Leader of the exterminating Band and if his Efforts were crowned with Success might ultimately make a conspicuous Figure in the Revolution of that Island. He was originally born free. At the Commencement of the Dispute between the Whites and coloured People in St: Domingo he was a Surgeon's Mate in a marching Regiment. Taking Part with his Brethren he pass'd thro a great Variety of Characters until the Mullattoes finally established their Rights and were admitted

²⁵ The lieutenant of Toussaint who was afterward, 1807–1811, president, and, 1811–1820, king of Hayti.

to a Participation of Privileges with the Whites. He was then appointed Commandant of Jackamel and its Dependencies where he exhibited Marks of a sanguinary Disposition. From thence he went to France. Having neither Property nor Employment he proposed the Plan I have mentioned and came out lately to carry it into Execution.

In my next I shall give you a farther account of the Preparations for this Expedition. I shall watch it with Attention and my Exertions shall not be wanting to counteract and if possible to render it altogether abortive.

In the mean Time I must beg the favor of you to consider the Plans I transmit you as a confidential Communication. Its Publicity might commit T——t and in future deprive me of that Information which is essentially necessary to render the commercial Intercourse of Great Britain and America with this Colony at once safe, lucrative and permanent.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect and Esteem,

Dear Sir

Your most Obed: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: T. Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Confidential, Edwd. Stevens Esqr.

Sept. 30. 1799. recd. Decr. 17.

French plan to invade Jamaica.

VIII. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS Oct: 26th: 1799.

Dear Sir

By the Ship *Ocean Cap*: Reynolds, who will sail from Gonaives for New-York in a few Days, I have written you very fully respecting the Occurrences in this Colony since my last Dispatches, and transmitted you some very important Inclosures. 'Tho' this Ship has been detained longer than I expected, I do not think it proper to withdraw my Dispatches from her, as being strongly armed she affords more Security to them than any of the Vessels that have lately sailed from this. I, therefore, beg Leave to refer you to them.

It is with Pleasure I can inform you that every Thing continues to be tranquil from Monte-Christi to Leogane. Great Preparations are now making by Gen: Toussaint to attack Rigaud in every Part of the South. His Army amounts to 55,000 Men, of which 30,000 are of the Line, and well disciplined. The Remainder are Militia. *Christophe*, the Commandant of this Arrondissement, will command one Column of the Army, and *Dessalines*^a the other. The first will march against Aux Cayes; and the latter attempt the Conquest of Jeremie and its Dependencies. The Municipality of Jackamel lately sent a Deputation to the Agent and General in Chief requesting Permission to remain neuter until the Conclusion of the War. This was refused, and they were ordered in the most peremptory Terms to consider themselves as subject to the Jurisdiction of Toussaint and to deliver up that District to General La Fortune, who has been sent with a strong Detachment to

^a The lieutenant of Toussaint who was afterward, 1804-1806, emperor of Hayti.

take Possession of it. This Injunction will be complied with, particularly since the Escape of *Beauvais* to Curaçoa, as he has left behind him no Chief of Talent or Courage sufficient to make much Resistance. I have very little Doubt, therefore, from the actual Position of Things here that the War will soon terminate, and that the Event will be favourable to Toussaint.

General Moÿse²⁷ supersedes *Christophe* in the Command of the Cape. I could rather have wished that this Change had not taken Place. 'Tho' the former is a Man of Energy and Decision, and I have always been upon the best Terms with him; yet I think he wants the Coolness and Good sense of the latter, from whom I have been long accustomed to obtain every Thing I wished. This Alteration can, however, produce no ill Effect, as Toussaint himself means to reside here until the Conclusion of the War. His Presence is absolutely necessary to counteract the political Enthusiasm of the Agent,²⁸ and to make him act and write as he wishes.

General Kerverseau has been lately superceded at Santo Domingo, and *Chanlat* sent to replace him.²⁹ The Agent has formed a secret Plan to take Possession of the Spanish Part of this Colony by means of this *Minion*; but Toussaint has penetrated his Design, and intends to anticipate him. Of this I shall write you more at large in my next.

Several Attempts have been made by the Agent and Administration of this Place to renew the Abuses respecting the Neutrals, but they have been, hitherto, foiled. During Toussaint's last Visit to this City he took the most decided Steps to protect and encourage the Commerce of America, and I am convinced, in a short Time, that Things will be placed on the most favourable Footing. Two of the most troublesome Administrators will be removed, and others of more Integrity put in their Place. More Punctuality in future will be observed in paying the Debts contracted by the Government. The existing Duties will be lessen'd and a Drawback established on all Articles of foreign Manufacture that may be re-exported. I have been, for some Time, endeavoring to accomplish so desirable a Regulation, and hope, in a few Days, to see it compleatly effected.

I have the most perfect Confidence in the Attachment of Toussaint to the Government of the U. S. and in his sincere Desire to establish a beneficial and permanent Commerce between the two Countries.

As to the Property and Persons of American Citizens I consider them as perfectly secure. Nor do I apprehend any Change in this Particular. The Situation of the french Inhabitants is indeed unpleasant, but there is no Instance where a Stranger has been injured or oppress'd.

The *Boston*, the *General Green* and the *Norfolk* have been cruising for some Time in this Neighbourhood, and have been lately joined by the *Constitution*. There has, however, been no french Privateer in these Seas since my arrival. They keep generally farther to the Northward, and have intercepted several American Vessels bound for different Ports in the W. Indies. All those that have been brought into the Harbours under the Jurisdiction of Gen: Toussaint, have been instantly released.

²⁷ Nephew and lieutenant of Toussaint, executed by him in 1801.

²⁸ Roume.

²⁹ As agent of the French Republic in the portion of the island hitherto Spanish.

Our armed Vessels that have been at the Cape have met with a very cordial Reception, and have been treated with the utmost Respect and Attention.

I shall expect to have your Instructions, Sir, on several important Matters that I have submitted to your Consideration, and respecting which I feel myself a little embarrass'd how to act.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Respect and Esteem,

Dear Sir

Your most obed: Servt

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: Timothy Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Dr. Stevens

Cape Francais Oct. 26, 1799.

IX. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS Dec: 3rd: 1799.

Dear Sir

Since my Dispatches by the *Ocean* the Affairs of this Colony have continued stationary. The Armies of Toussaint and Rigaud have remained in a State of Inaction, until within these 10 Days, when Commandant Christophe, at the Head of one Column of the Army, consisting of 6000 Men, marched from Leogane against Jackamel and it's Dependencies. At the same Time Toussaint sent all his armed Vessels round to blockade it by Sea, so that this important District of the South is, by this Time, compleatly invested and perhaps taken. General Des-salines has marched with another Column consisting of an equal Number against *grand* and *petit* Goave, where Rigaud commands in person. These sudden and vigorous Movements have induced Rigaud to make Overtures of Peace; but whether his Sincerity is doubted, or Toussaint thinks he can soon force him to surrender, his Proposals have not been listened to. The most unremitting Efforts are, on the contrary, used for carrying on the War, and terminating this destructive Contest by one bold and decisive Stroke. For my Part I never had a Doubt of the Issue, and am now more than ever confirmed in the Opinion that it must terminate in Favour of Toussaint. I must, therefore, submit it to your Considerations, Sir, whether it would not be prudent to make the necessary Provision for opening the Ports of the South, in Proportion as they are surrender'd by Rigaud. As soon as they are in Toussaint's Possession the commercial Relations may be renewed between them and the U. States with Safety and Advantage. This is the Wish of General Toussaint, provided the President sees no Objection to it. Should any Arrangements be made on this Head you will be kind enough to communicate them to me by the earliest Opportunity, that I may take such Steps here as Circumstances may require.

It being deemed politic to remove General Kerverseau from Santo Domingo, and nominate in his Stead General Chanlat, who from his Feebleness and Indisposition was incapable of travelling by Land, Toussaint requested me to furnish him with a neutral Vessel and Passport to carry him to his destined Place. As the British Agent, Mr: Douglass, saw no reasonable Objection to granting this Request, I permitted him to use for this Purpose a small american Schooner that I keep here

chiefly as a Packet Boat. And I did this the more readily as I thought it might prove to him my Wish to comply with every Thing that could contribute to his Interest. I hope my Conduct in this Instance will meet with the President's Approbation. I will consider it a Favor, Sir, to be informed what Line of Conduct I should observe should a similar Application be made. Imperious Circumstances may oblige him to send a neutral Vessel occasionally to Ports not strictly comprehended within the Limits of the President's Proclamation, and it may seem unfreindly to refuse—should he apply for one.

It has been reported here by a small Schooner just from Bordeaux that some french Frigates may soon be expected with three Commissioners Adet, Fauchet and Freron that have been lately nominated for this Colony. I know not whether this Report is well founded, or not; but I am convinced if they *do* come they will not be received. Positive Orders have been given to admit no Ships of War into the Harbour of the Cape without special Permissions. General Moyse in communicating this Order to me, and explaining his Reasons, informed me that he had desired the Harbour Master to acquaint him whenever any American Ship of War presented themselves, that he might suspend this Injunction in their Favour, and give Directions for their free Admission. Several of our Frigates and Corvettes have been lately here and very kindly received. The *Constitution*, *General Greene* and *Boston* are now cruising off the Port. The french Corvette the *Diligent* slipped in here, a few Days ago, unperceived by our Ships. She will sail Tomorrow for Port au Prince. Application was made to me for a Passport which I deemed it by no means proper to grant. I was also requested to prevail upon american Captains, to carry down some Troops which have been put in Requisition for Port de Paix, but recollecting the Agent's Plan for transporting Troops to Jamaica in american Bottoms, I thought it best to prevent it if possible: which was done.—I have the Honor to remain Dear Sir

Your most obed: Serv:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: T. Pickering
etc. etc. etc.

X. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

(Duplicate.)

LEOGANE Jany. 16th: 1800.

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of writing you a few Lines on board of the United States armed Schooner *Experiment*, during my passage from the Cape to this Place where I landed on the 2d: Inst:

The Day before my Arrival the Schooner was attacked, at 7 OClock in the Morning, between the Point of St. Marc and the Island of Gonaib, by 12 of Rigaud's Barges, strongly armed and manned with upwards of 500 Negroes and Mulattoes. After several ineffectual Attempts to board us, they were at Length repulsed with great Loss. It being excessively calm during the whole of the Action, which continued until 4 in the Evening, the *Experiment* could not succeed in driving them off, until they had captured the Brig *Daniel and Mary* and the Schooner *Washington*, two of the Vessels under her Convoy, and which had been pre-

viously abandoned by their Captains and Crews. On the following Day the Brig *Daniel and Mary* was recaptured by two of General Toussaint's Cruizers, near the Coyemites, and conducted into the Port of Leogane. The Schooner *Washington* escaped their Pursuit, and was carried into *Petit Trondes Baraderes*, a small Harbour near Jeremie.

As soon as I heard of the Recapture of the Brig, I claimed her on Behalf of the Captain, who was then at Port au Prince. General Toussaint ordered her to be restored immediately, (a quarter Part of the Value of the Vessel and Cargo being reserved, as Salvage for the Recaptors.)

I now have the Honor of inclosing you a Copy of the different Papers relative to that Business.

On my Arrival at Leogane I found the Mind of General Toussaint much soured, and could easily perceive that the insidious Attempts of some artfull and designing Intriguers, had produced a considerable Effect. He had received the most unfavourable Impressions, respecting the Conduct of the Executive in it's Orders to our naval Commanders. But after a short Conversation, in which I explained to him with Freedom and Candor, the Intentions of the American Government, and the Honor and good Faith with which it had acted towards him, I had the Satisfaction to find that his Attachment to it remained undiminished. He assures me that the Conduct of the American Navy had been misrepresented, but that nothing should induce him to act contrary to the solemn Engagement he had made, and that the Persons and Properties of our Fellow Citizens should *at all Times*, and under all Circumstances be considered as sacred.

I shall not intrude upon your more important Occupations by entering upon a lengthy Detail of the Conversation which took place on this Subject. It will be sufficient to observe to you, Sir, that after the most friendly Discussion, the following Arrangements were determined on.

1st: That no Vessels, of any Description whatever, should be allowed to arm in that Part of the Colony under the Jurisdiction of General Toussaint, except such as are in his immediate Service, and employed by him, either for the Protection of Commerce, or to cooperate with his military Expeditions against the S[ou]th.

2d. That all those not absolutely employed by him, if they should be found at Sea by the American Cruizers, with Arms on Board, should be liable to Capture and Confiscation.

3d. That all armed Vessels in his Service, (of which a List shall be sent to the American Commodore on the St. Domingo Station) shall be obliged to carry regular Passports, signed by the Consul General of the U. States, by the British Agent, and by the General in chief. Those that neglect to take the necessary Passports, 'tho' in his Service, shall be liable to Capture and Confiscation. All those armed Vessels shall confine themselves to the Limits prescribed by the secret Convention entered into between General Toussaint and the British, previous to the Renewal of Commerce.

4 No passports shall in future be granted to Vessels belonging to the Colony of Saint Domingo, that may be sent to other Islands. These passports shall be confined entirely to the coasting Trade.

The strictest Orders have been already given to prevent any french Ships of War or Privateers from entering the Ports of the Colony. As to Merchant Vessels from France, I do not imagine that the Trade of the

U. States will incur any Risk from them in future. Those that have already arrived have suffered so much from the continued Requisitions to which their Persons and Property have been subjected, that they are perfectly disgusted with the Government, and are determined never to return. They will, therefore, cease to be a Cause of Dread to our Fellow Citizens, or a Source of Dissension between this Government and that of the U. States.

General T[*o*]ussaint being well acquainted with the Capture of the Hamburg Ship, by the United States Frigate *Constitution*, and also of the Destruction of a small french Lugger to which the Agent had clandestinely given a Commission, and which was taken by the *Boston* and *Norfolk*, I explained to him the Propriety of these Occurrences, with which he was perfectly satisfied. Capt. Dubois of the french Corvette *la Diligente* had solicited the Interference of the General to procure the Enlargement of his Officers and Men, which were found on board of the Hamburg Ship, at the Time of her Recapture, and which were then detained by Captain Talbot;³⁰ but when I informed him that they could not be given up, consistently with the orders issued to the American Navy, he refused to use his Interference in their Behalf. A similar Application had been made to him by the Captain of the Lugger, who is actually a Prisoner on board of the *Constitution*. It was sufficient, however, to refer him to his *own Letter* on the Subject of private armed Vessels, (an Extract of which I have already transmitted you,) to convince him of the Impropriety of any Interference in favor of this Man. In short he seemed to view Things in a different Light, after they had been candidly and coolly discussed between us. The mists of Error and Misconception with which the Enemies of America had taken so much Pains to cloud his Mind, during an Absence of four Months from the Cape, were quickly dissipated, and he seems now, more than ever, attached to the Interests of America. During every Interview I had with him I endeavoured to point out the Impropriety of listening to any Reports brought to him by the french Intriguers in the Colony, or of interfering in any Discussion which might take Place between France and the U. States. I tried to impress strongly on his Mind that the Arrangements made with St. Domingo were of a particular Kind, adapted to the local Situation and present political State of the Colony, that they regarded it as altogether unconnected with any other Country, and that an actual State of Hostility *might* take Place between France and America, without occasioning the least Interruption of Harmony between him and the Government of the U. States.

With all these Observations he seems perfectly satisfied, and, as far as respects him and his Chief Officers, I think I can assure you that every Thing is placed on its former Footing of Harmony and Good understanding.

The Agent's Conduct has displeased him so much, particularly in a late Transaction, that I am convinced he will not long possess even the Appearance of Power. As soon as Jackamel is captured, he will be reduced to a Cypher. Some written and permanent Arrangements may then be made, which may place our Intercourse with this Colony on a more favourable Footing. I must, therefore, beg the favor of you, Sir, to give me your Instructions on this Subject, as early as possible, and direct me whether it is the Wish of the President that any Alteration

³⁰ Silas Talbot, commander of the *Constitution*.

should be made in the existing Regulations with this Colony. I foresee that a new order of things will shortly take Place here and should wish to be prepared for the Event.

This Distriet is, at present, extremely quiet. The advanced Parts of General Toussaint's Army are about 4 Leagues from Leogane towards Grand Grove [Goave], and within half a Mile of Rigaud's Camp. No Action of Consequence has taken place here, for some Time past. The seat of active Hostility has been transfered to the N[e]ighbourhood of Jackamel. That Town is closely beseiged, by 10,000 Men, and cannot hold out many Days. I inclose you a Plan of the Town, and of the actual Position of the beseiging Army. It will give you a pretty accurate Idea of the Regularity with which military Operations are conducted in this Country.

I expected, long ere this, to have announced to you the Termination of the destructive civil War which has, for some Time, ravaged this unfortunate Colony. But my Expectations have been disappointed by a Circumstance which could not have been foreseen, and which will probably contribute to prolong Hostili[ti]es. A Squadron of 6 armed Vessels, belonging to Genl. Toussaint, sailed from Port au Prince early in November, with a Quantity of Ammunition and Military Stores on board. These Vessels had Passports from the british Agent, and were destined for Jackamel to blockade that Port and cooperate with the Army, in reducing the different Sea Ports Towns on the South. General Toussaint had *even* taken the Precaution to write to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Balcarres, informing them of the real Destination of this Squadron, in order to prevent any alarm from being excited in Jamaica. Notwithstanding all these prudent Steps, this Squadron was captured, during it's Voyage, by the British Frigate *Solebay*, 12 Leagues to the westward of Navassa, was conducted to Jamaica, tried, condemned and sold. Several Letters have passed on this Subject between Toussaint, the Admiral and Governor. The first has received no Satisfaction. The second seems obstinately determined to make no Restitution, but the last writes in a kind and friendly Stile, and gives Toussaint every Reason to expect from the british Government that Indemnity, which he has solicited in vain from the Admiral.

Mr. Wigglesworth has been appointed Agent for the affairs of St. Domingo, by the british Government, in place of Col. Grant whom Toussaint had refused to receive. This Gentleman arrived at Jamaica soon after the Capture of Toussaint's Squadron, and before their Trial or Condemnation. Foreseeing the ill Consequences of the prosecution instituted by the Captors, he offered to give Security for the Ammount of the Vessels and Cargoes, in case they should be ultimately condemned, on Condition that they should be delivered up to him, that he might restore them to Toussaint. This was refused, and notwithstanding all his active Exertions, he has been unable to obtain favourable Decission.

Finding all his Efforts useless, he has deputed a Mr. Robison, who came from England with him, to come up to St. Domingo and explain to General Toussaint the favourable Intentions of the British Government. 'Tho' this Gentleman has been kindly received, and has had several interesting Interviews with the General in Chief, he has not been permitted to remain in the Colony, as *Deputy Agent*. He has been sent back to Jamaica with an Invitation to Mr. Wigglesworth to come up and hold a Conference with General Toussaint, on the Subject of

his Mission; but the latter is determined not to permit him to remain in the Island unless his armed Vessels are restored.

This unlucky Capture has chagrened Toussaint exceedingly. It has deranged all his Plans, and weakened his Attachment to the English. Unless this Matter is quickly accomodated, I am affraid it will destroy all commercial Intercourse between Jamaica and this Colony. I have done every Thing that lay in my power to prevent General Toussaint from proceeding to extremities, and in my Conversations with Mr. Robinson, (who was invited to Leogane by the General for the express Purpose of conversing with me) I have given him such Information as I hope will tend to reconcile this Difference.

I am loth to impute the Capture of this Squadron to the cruel Policy, on the Part of the English, of continueing the Contest between Genl. Toussaint and Rigaud, and of preventing *either* from gaining the Ascendency, that, by this means, both may be ultimately weakened. I attribute it rather to a Discovery which was made, just before these Vessels sailed, of a Design to excite an Insurrection of the Blacks in the Island of Jamaica, and of an intended Invasion, which was projected by the Agent to be made from the different Ports of St. Domingo. This spread an astonishing alarm among the Inhabitants of Jamaica. Martial Law was instantly proclaimed. Every Body appeared under Arms. *Sasportas*, a Jew, and *Dubuisson*, an emigrant french Officer, two chiefs of the Conspiracy, were apprehended, and Proofs of their Guilt being found upon them, they were tried, convicted, and condemned to be hanged. The former was executed a few Days after, but the latter having turned King's Evidence, and made some important Discoveries, has been since pardoned; tho he is still confined. Several french Men have been imprisoned, and all the rest who have no fixed Property in the Island, have been ordered to leave it. All the french Negroes in the Colony have been collected and put on board of Transports in the different Ports. Their former Owners have been paid a certain fixed Sum pr. Head. The Negroes have been emancipated, but are to be sent up to Martinique to be enlisted in the black Corps which have been raised for the Difence of that Colony.

Since these Proceedings have taken Place in Jamaica, the british Cruizers have been exceedingly troublesome to all french Vessels on the Coast of St: Domingo. They have taken burnt, and distroyed every Vessel they have met. Hitherto *our* Vessels have been respected by them, when furnished with regular passports. How long they will continue to treat them with Civility I cannot determine. But I hope the Arrival of Mr. Wigglesworth, and the orders he brings with him from the British Government will set every Thing to Rights.

I do not yet know whether the Ship *Ocean*, Capt. Reynolds, is arrived. If you have received my Dispatches by her, you will be at no loss to account for several of the late Transactions, which have happened at Kingston.

I shall set out for the Cape Tomorrow. As soon as I arrive there I shall communicate to Capt. Talbot the Arrangements which have been made with General Toussaint, and embrace the earliest Opportunity of addressing you again.

I have the Honor to remain with great Respect and Esteem,

Dear Sir

Your most obed: Serv:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: Timothy Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Edwd. Stevens Esq. (duplicate)

Leogane Jany. 16. 1800

recd. March 18.

XI. STEVENS TO PICKERING.³¹

CAP FRANÇOIS Feby: 13th: 1800.

Dear Sir

The political State of this Colony is approaching rapidly towards a very important Crisis. Even the nominal Power of the Agent and his Adherents is now nearly annihilated. The flying Artillery which has cost near half a Million of Dollars, and which was to have laid the flourishing Colony of Jamaica in Blood and Ashes, is disbanded. The Command of the Treasury and a control of the civil as well as military Departments has been openly assumed by the Genl: in Chief and his subordinate Officers. Every Thing announces a speedy Dissolution of those Ties, which once connected this important Colony with the Mother Country.

While I was uncertain of the real Intentions of *Toussaint*, I was loth to say any Thing to you about them. Now that I think I know them, it is my Duty to announce them to you. *He is taking his measures slowly but securely. All connection with France will soon be broken off. If he is not disturbed he will preserve appearances a little longer. But as soon as France interferes with this colony he will throw off the mask and declare it independent.* Of this very interesting Business I shall have the Honer of writing you at full Length by the first safe Conveyance.

I remain with great Respect and Esteem

Dr: Sir

Your most obedt: hum: Servt.

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: Timothy Pickering

etc: etc: etc.

[Endorsed:] Edward Stevens Esqr. Feby. 13, 1800.

recd. March 18.

XII. STEVENS TO PICKERING.³²

CAP FRANÇOIS March 16th. 1800.

Dear Sir

Every Thing in this Quarter remains tranquil, notwithstanding strong Symptoms of the Crisis I announced to you have taken Place. Within these few Days all the Adherents of the *Agent* have been arrested and imprisoned; and the Seals put on their Effects and Papers. Among these are the *Ordonnatcur* in Chief *Dumaine*; *Blanchard* the *Receiver* of the Revenues of the Colony etc: etc: etc: The *Agent* and his *Secre-*

³¹ Words in italics in this letter and that of March 16 were in cipher. The portions omitted have no historical importance.

³² The omitted portion has no historical importance.

tary are kept close Prisoners to the *government house*. The Seals are also put on the Papers of the latter. No Persons are permitted either to enter or leave the House: nor are Papers, Money or any Kind of Effects suffer'd to be carried out. All this is by order of *General Toussaint*. He sent *General Agé*³³ here to carry the *Agent* to Port au Prince but he refused to go. He immediately gave orders to take the Steps I have mentioned.

By a Courier that arrived this Evening we have Accounts that Jacmel is taken. Genl: Toussaint will of Course be here in a few Days, when I have no doubt the Business will be settled in the Manner I have long foreseen. He will not send away the Agent, because he is afraid he may intrigue against him in *France*. He will keep him a close Prisoner, and take all *power civil and military* into his own Hands.

I am informed that Mr: Wigglesworth is arrived at Port au Prince.

Things continue in much the same Situation as when I write you last. The Citizens of the U. States are respected, and their Property secure. A due Degree of Harmony subsists between our naval Commanders and the Chiefs of the Colony. The *Constitution* is, I fancy, at the Mole; as she has not been off this Harbour for 2 Days. The *Boston* and *Richmond* are in the Bite. The *General Greene*, the *Experiment* and the *Augusta* are cruising off Jacmel.

Having been just informed that this Vessel will sail in the Morning I write in great Haste, for which I beg your Excuse. I have the Honor to be with great Respect and Esteem,

Dr: Sir

Your most obed: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

Hon:

T. Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Edwd. Stevens Esq. March 16. 1800.

recd. April 8.

The Agent Roume and Adherents, imprisoned
by Genl. Toussaint's orders.

XIII. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS April 19th: 1800.

Dear Sir

The Crisis I announced to you in some of my former Letters has taken Place. The particular Agent of the french national Government has been deposed, and the General in Chief invested with the civil and military Authority over this Colony, by the unanimous Consent of its Inhabitants.

The present Conveyance being destin'd to a distant Part of the U. States, and offering rather unexpectedly, I have neither Time, nor do I think it prudent to enter into a minute Detail of the Circumstances which led to and accompanied this important Change in the Administration of Saint Domingo. I shall content myself with giving you some of the leading Facts, at present, and, by a more secure and direct Opportunity shall relate this Affair more circumstantially.

The Agent having been invited by Genl: Toussaint to join him at

³³ Agé or Ogé.

Port au Prince and unite his Efforts to those of the leading Chiefs in the Colony for the Suppression of the Rebellion in the South, refused to leave the Cape. In Consequence of this Refusal he was kept a close Prisoner to the Government House until the 10th: Inst.; and all the civil Authority taken out of his Hands. On the Morning of the 10th: the Municipality of the Cape received a Letter from that of *Dondon*, (an extensive Quarter in the Neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin), requesting them to wait upon the Agent and announce to him "that he had lost their Confidence, and that the mal-Administration of the Colony, the Dilapidation of the public Funds, and the Continuance of the War in the South were all owing to his *Weakness, Treachery and Indecision.*" They desired, in the most peremptory Manner, that to remedy all these Evils, he should immediately comply with the Genl. in Chief's Invitation and threaten'd, that should he refuse, they would enter the City with an armed Force and compel him. In order to give more Weight to this Command they proceeded, with the national Guard and the Gens-d'armirie of the Quarter as far as the *Haut du Cap*, (a small Town about a League from the Cape), where they encamped, and were immediately joined by the Municipalities, national Guards etc: etc: of *Petite Ance* and all the different Quarters which constitute the extensive Plain of the Cape, to the Number of 5000 Men.

As soon as this Circumstance was known in Town, the Municipality, accompanied by Genl: Moÿse, and all the constituted Authorities, waited upon the Agent, and invited him to go instantly to the *Haut du Cap* and appease the Tumult. With this Request he complied. He met the Insurgents and harangued them; but in vain. They were deaf to his Intreaties to disperse. They became more and more clamorous and were proceeding to use Violence to his Person when Genl: Moÿse interfer'd and prevailed upon them to suspend their Resentment until he could know the Decision of the Genl: in Chief. To this they consented on Condition that the Agent and the Municipality should be kept there as close Prisoners until the General's Determination was known. A Deputation was immediately sent off to him, accompanied by a Letter from the Agent himself, requesting him to proceed directly to the Cape, and restore Tranquility. To this Genl: Toussaint answer'd that his military Occupations in the South left him no Time to take such a Journey, and that his Presence was not even necessary, as the Agent had it in his Power to restore Tranquility to the North immediately, by complying with the Request he formerly made to him. No sooner was this Answer known than the Multitude became outrageous. They demanded that the Agent should be instantly deprived of his office, and embarked for France and that the supreme Power should, in future, be vested in the Person of Genl: Toussaint. Addresses were sent to the latter by the Municipalities and armed Forces of the several Parts of the Colony, urging him, in the strongest Terms, to assume the Command and administer the Affairs of the Government. Their Example has been followed by the Municipality at the Cape, and by all the constituted Authorities both civil and military. On the 17th. Inst. a respectable Deputation was sent from hence with an Address signed by at least 2500 of the principal Inhabitants, expressing their Dissatisfaction with the Administration of the Agent and soliciting the Genl: in Chief to supercede him. As he is at Jacmel his Answer has not yet been received. But it is no difficult Matter to foresee how this Business

will terminate. *He will accept of the unanimous Invitation of the Colony, and from that Moment it may be considered as forever separated from France.* Policy, perhaps, may induce him to make no open Declaration of Independence, before he is compelled. But this apparent and temporary Attachment to the Mother Country will only ensure the Separation of the Colony more effectually.

'Tho' this Revolution is not yet compleated, every Thing remains perfectly quiet and safe at the Cape, and has done so ever sence it commenced. The different Batteries of the Town have been furnished with double Guards. The Inhabitants have been constantly under Arms, and the principal Street leading to the Country has been defended by a strong Body of the national Guards, both Day and Night. Great Alarm has, indeed, been excited by all these Movements. Those who were ignorant of the Cause, and who have already suffered so severely from similar Commotions, have apprehended much Danger. But by those who were acquainted with the Politics of the leading Chiefs all these formidable Preparations have been viewed with Composure and without Fear.

It is not difficult to discover that all those Assemblies in the different Parts of the Colony have been planned and regulated by the leading Chiefs, and that, so far from being tumultuous or dangerous they have been perfectly under controul. Of this I shall write you more particularly in my next.

I have the Honor to remain with the most perfect Respect and Esteem

Dr: Sir

Your most obedt: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Honl: T. Pickering
etc. etc: etc.

[Endorsed:] Ed. Stevens. 19th. April dated 1800
29 May received

XIV. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS April 24th: 1800.

Dear Sir

I had the Honor of transmitting you, on the 19th: inst: a short and hasty Account of the political Changes which have lately taken Place in this Colony. Things have remained much in the same State ever since. Great Tranquility has prevail'd both in the Town and thro' the Plain. The Agent has, however, been kept a close Prisoner at the *Haut du Cap*. He has solicited Permission from the People to join the General in Chief, and has promised to cooperate with him in all his Plans for promoting the Good of the Colony. This has been refused, and he has been told that his Request comes too late; that they have deprived him of the supreme Authority, and conferred it on the General in Chief, that they want no more Agents, and that they will not receive any, in future, even 'tho' they should be sent from France. Finding his Efforts to retain his Power unsuccessful, he has requested that they would embark him for France. But this also has been refused. The Fact is that they have conceived the Project of keeping him a close Prisoner until a Peace takes Place. They think his Intrigues in France would be as injurious to the Colony as his treacherous and indecisive Conduct has already proved here. In order, therefore, to

prevent him from doing Mischief they think it best to deprive him of his Power, and keep him a Prisoner.

This Morning the General in Chief had a Conference with him for two Hours at the *Haut du Cap*, after which he enter'd the Town. Tomorrow the important Change which has taken Place in the Government will be announced publicly. I shall embrace the earliest opportunity to acquaint you with the Result, and to keep you instructed with any Events that may occur.

I have had a Conversation with Genl: Toussaint since his Arrival, and he has renew'd in very strong Terms his ardent Desire to do every Thing which can preserve the existing Harmony between this Colony and the U. States, and which can prove his Attachment to our Government. This is, perhaps, the most favourable Moment that has occurred, since the Renewal of the Intercourse, to place our Commerce upon a solid and permanently advantageous Footing; and you may rest assured, Sir, that I shall omit nothing that lays in my Power to avail myself of it.

The *Genl: Green* and the *Herald*³⁴ are both here, but will sail in a Day or two, the first for New-Orleans, and the latter for the South Side of the Island. Confidence is once more restored to the Inhabitants of this Town, and Commerce has assumed it's usual Course.

I have the Honor to remain with great Esteem,

Dr: Sir

Your most obedt: Sert:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Honl: T. Pickering etc. etc. etc.

[Endorsed:] Ed. Stevens 24 April 1800

19th. May 1800 recd.

XV. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS April 27, 1800.

Dear Sir,

'Tho' the Inhabitants of the Colony had openly express'd their Wish that the General in Chief should immediately assume the Reins of Government, he thought proper to defer his Acceptance, for a few Days. The Agent was permitted to remain in the Government House, but without exercising the Functions of his Office, while all the Details of public Business were actually devolved on the General.

This Morning he solicited the Agent, thro' the Medium of the Municipalitys and constituted Authorities, to take Possession of Santo Domingo and the whole spanish Part of the Island, in conformity to the Treaty of *Basle*.³⁵ The Agent refused. He was threatened with Imprisonment at *Dondon*,—The Dispatches he had prepared for the french Government were seiz'd, and an order given that no Person should either enter or leave his House. Terrified at these Proceedings he at length complied. An Arreté was immediately published declaring that the Government of Saint Domingo would take Possession of the Span-

³⁴ See letters of Stephen Higginson, written in the autumn of 1799, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1896, I. 824-830 (Higginson's attempt to sell arms to Toussaint by means of the *Herald*).

³⁵ The treaty of July 22, 1795, by which Spain ceded her portion of the island to France.

ish Part, and a Letter written by the Agent to the President of Santo Domingo²⁶ inviting him to deliver it up directly. The Motive assign'd in both these Instruments for demanding Possession is, that Negroes are still carried from the french Part of the Island and sold in the Spanish. Adjutant General Agé, Chief of General Toussaint's Etat major, is appointed to proceed without Delay from Jacmel to take possession with a Body of *white* Troops. Chanlatte is continued in Power until further Orders. The greatest Respect is directed to be paid to the Religion of the Spaniards, and to their Manners and Customs. The Negroes are not to be suffer'd to quit the Plantations, and the Persons and Property of the Inhabitants are to be rigidly respected. In fine no Change is to be made in the Laws or Usages of the Country, until a peace takes Place.

It is uncertain whether the President²⁷ will Give up the Possession; or, if he does, whether the Spaniards will assent to it. I am rather inclined to imagine that some Opposition will be made, and that a civil War may be the Consequence. I do not think it prudent or politic to demand Possession of this extensive Part of the Island at so critical a Moment. But Genl: Toussaint has been in some Degree driven in to the Measure from a Report that has prevail'd here of the Arrival of 2 Frigates and 1 Ship of the Line at Guadaloupe with 15000 Troops and the Abbé Gregoire. It is said they are destin'd for Santo Domingo, and he has hurried this Business to prevent them from getting a Footing in the Colony. I write in great Haste, at present, but shall give you the Remainder of these Transactions Tomorrow. With great Respect and Esteem I remain

Dr: Sir

Your most obdt. Servt.

EDWARD STEVENS

The Honl: T. Pickering etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Ed. Stevens. 27th. April dated

24 May received

XVI. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

CAP FRANÇOIS May 24th: 1800.

Dear Sir

I have the Honor to enclose you (No: 1) the Address of the national Guards and Inhabitants of Cap françois to the General in Chief, and the Arreté of the national Agent (No: 2) for taking Possession of the Spanish Part of St: Domingo. I mentioned these Instructions in my Dispatches of the 19th. and 27th: of April, but was then unable to send you Copies of them.

I also enclose you an order (No: 3) issued by the General for taking Possession of the Property of all Absentees, and a Proclamation (No: 5) for blocking up all the Ports of the South under the Jurisdiction of Rigaud.

These Events confirm more and more the Opinion I lately express'd to you respecting the political State of the Colony, and the Intentions of the black Chiefs. The Arrival of the Officers sent out by the new

²⁶ Don Joaquin Garcia, president of the *audiencia* of (Spanish) Santo Domingo.

²⁷ Of Spanish Santo Domingo.

Government to restore Tranquility to the Colony, and occupy important Places in the Administration of it, has removed the Veil, which conceal'd the real Views of the military Government. These Officers, so far from being well received, have been insulted and ill treated. Most of the Passengers that came out in the Frigate have been imprisoned, and the black Chiefs now talk loudly and openly against having any Connection, in future, with the Mother Country. The General in Chief has received a Letter from the Minister of the Marine, *Forfait*,³⁸ which has displeased him highly. The Minister tells him that the first Consul has confirmed him as General in Chief of the Army of St: Domingo, but in doing so, that he expects that these Forces will never be employed against any other than the *English*, the Enemies of France; that he ought to recollect that the Man who stains himself with the Blood of his Fellow Citizens will bring down upon his Head the Malediction of Man and of Heaven; and that he therefore, expects, by the first Dispatches he sends from St: Domingo, to be informed that he has made Peace with Rigaud, and restored Tranquility to the Colony. In reading this Letter to me he express'd the utmost Displeasure, and all his subsequent Acts shew that he is determined to throw off all Kind of Subordination to the french Government. The Agent does nothing, at present, but what he is *desired* to do. The whole Machine of Government, both civil and military, is regulated and guided by the General in Chief.

Since my last the District of *Miragoane* has fallen into Possession of General Toussaint; and his Army was pushing on to invest *Acquin* on the South, and *Jeremie* on the North. The Details respecting the Capture of Petit Goave etc: etc. etc. I send you in No: 4.

By a Vessel which sails Tomorrow I shall have the Pleasure of addressing you more fully. The present Opportunity being sudden and unexpected prevents me from writing as I could wish.

I have the Honor to remain in haste, with great Esteem and Respect

Dr: Sir

Your most obedt: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: T. Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Edward Stevens. 24 May 1800

Recd. 16 Augt. 1800.

XVII. STEVENS TO PICKERING.

(Copy.)

CAP FRANÇOIS May 28th. 1800.

Dear Sir

Since my last of the 24th. Inst.; which I had the Honor of transmitting by the Brig *Ruby*, Capt. Wrigley, nothing very important has occurred.

The President of Santo Domingo has received Genl. Agé with great Civility, and consented to deliver up the Spanish Part of the Island, as soon as he can obtain a sufficient Number of Vessels to carry off the

³⁸ Forfait, the marine engineer, Bonaparte's first minister of marine, 1799-1801.

spanish Inhabitants that may wish to depart. This Operation will require, at least a Delay of 6 Months to execute. He has availed himself of this Circumstance, and written to his Government for fresh Orders. Several of the french Inhabitants have also written to France and made strong Remonstrances against taking Possession, during the present unsettled State of Things in the Colony. It is, therefore, imagined that immediate Directions will be sent out, by the new Government, to suspend the delivery of the Spanish part, until some favourable Change shall take Place. Should such orders be given it will be impossible for the General in Chief to take Possession, even 'tho' he should wish to do it by Force. The Spaniards are too numerous, and too much opposed to the Domination of the Blacks, to render such a measure practicable.

Genl. Toussaint, supposing that there would be no Difficulty in obtaining the immediate Delivery of Santo Domingo, had sent an armed Schooner from the Cape with 70 white Soldiers, to serve as a Garrison for that Place, under the Command of Genl. Agé. This Vessel being met near Porto Plata by his brittanic Majestys Frigate *Alarm*, was captured, and the Troops put on shore at Monte Christi. This Accident will serve as another Retardation of the General in Chief's Plans. The Troops cannot march in Safety by Land, and as the English have now got Intelligence of his Designs on the Spanish Part of the Island, that Portion of it will be so closely invested, that nothing will be suffered to pass to it by Sea.

I have not had the Honor of receiving any of your Dispatches since those dated Jany. 18th. As considerable Alterations have taken Place in the Sentiments and conduct of the leading Chiefs, as far as relates to France, I would wish to have your Instructions how to proceed. I have the Honor to remain with the most perfect Respect and Esteem,

Dear Sir

Your most obedt: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon. Timothy Pickering

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsed:] Edward Stevens. 28 May 1800.

Recd. 20 June

XVIII. STEVENS TO JOHN MARSHALL, SECRETARY OF STATE.

(*Copy*)

CAPE FRANÇOIS August 2d 1800.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that recent official Accounts from General Toussaint announce the entire Pacification of the Southern Parts of this Colony.

Rigaud having been vanquished in every successive Engagement, his ammunition and military stores being entirely expended and the important District of Jeremie having declared in favor of the General in Chief, he has listened to the terms proposed to him and consented to retire from the Island in a short time. A suspension of Arms has of course taken place and General Toussaint is by this time in possession of Aux Cayes, and every part of the Western Peninsula. This Intelligence is of so much importance that I lose no time in communicating it to you for the President's information. The termination of the destructive Civil War which has so long raged in this Colony will open

an additional number of Ports to the American Commerce. Should the President deem it expedient to renew the Intercourse with those ports of the Island of St. Domingo which are not included in his late Proclamation, I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that it may be now done with safety and advantage.

As soon as I shall receive positive Information of the departure of Rigaud and the reestablishment of Tranquility in the Department, he formerly commanded, I shall not fail to give you the earliest Intelligence of it.

I have the honor to remain with the highest Respect and Consideration,
Sir,

Your Most Obedt. Servt.

EDWARD STEVENS

[Endorsed:] Edward Stevens. 2 Augt. 1800.

Recd. 8 Septr.

XIX. STEVENS TO SECRETARY MARSHALL.

CAP FRANÇOIS Sep: 10th: 1800.

Sir.

Since I had the Honor of addressing you last the most perfect Tranquility has been restored to this Colony. The Cultivators of the South have been recalled to their respective Plantations, the various civil Administrations reorganised, and the most effectual Measures adopted for the future Peace and good order of that Department. Agriculture and Commerce begin to revive. The late civil War being totally extinguished, the Attention of the General in Chief has been, altogether, turn'd towards the Establishment of such wise and salutary Regulations as must, eventually, tend to promote the Happiness and Prosperity of St: Domingo. He is extremely desirous that the Commerce of the U. States should be extended to the Ports of the South, and has earnestly entreated me to urge the President to open these new Sources of private Emolument and public Revenue, which are now offer'd to America. I have already taken the Liberty to suggest the Utility of such a Measure, and I beg Leave, Sir, to repeat, that should the President see no Impropriety in acceding to it, I think it may be adopted, not only with Safety but Advantage.

As General Toussaint has been invested by the Inhabitants of this Colony with the supreme Power, both civil and military, and has always evinced the most freindly Sentiments towards America, I should imagine that the present Moment is very favourable for obtaining from him such additional Privileges as would place our Commerce on a permanent and advantageous Footing. I shall be happy, Sir, to be honor'd with your Instructions on this Subject, and beg Leave to assure you, that they shall be executed with Fidelity, and that I shall let no Opportunity escape of promoting as far as I am able the real Interests of the U. States.

I have the Honor to remain with the highest Consideration and Respect

Sir

Your most obedt: Servt:

EDWARD STEVENS

The Hon: General Marshall

etc: etc: etc:

[Endorsement of duplicate:] Edward Stevens. 10th. Septr. 1800

Recd. 13th. Octr.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur Makedonischen Eroberung. Von JUSTIN V. PRÁŠEK. Band II. *Die Blütezeit und der Verfall des Reiches der Achämeniden.* [Handbücher der alten Geschichte, Serie I., 5 Abteilung.] (Gotha: Perthes. 1910. Pp. xii, 255.)

THIS volume forms the sequel to the author's recent book which had brought the history of Media and Persia from the earliest times down to the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses and the usurping sway of the False Smerdis. Like its companion-piece it is a work of genuine importance, even if it has its limitations and though the critic be obliged to make strictures on some of the views which it sets forth.

As its title implies, it deals with the period of Persia's greatest glory, under the Achaemenians, and of its decadence, culminating in the conquest by Alexander the Great. One-half of the volume—and with perfect fitness—is devoted to Darius. We can follow in detail, and with abundant references to sources and authorities, the early events of his reign from the moment when he first had to engage in putting down insurrections against his power and suppressing rebels who laid claim to the throne.

Darius was above all an organizer—"huckster", he was called; but he simply gave Persia what would be termed to-day a businesslike administration. It is appropriate, therefore, that Professor Prášek should devote thirty pages (pp. 44-74) to showing how the great king's genius came to the front in that manner as soon as the reins of government were once firmly in his hands. The two long chapters on Scythia, the Scythian campaign, and the invasion of Greece, will be of special service to classical scholars; and, in this connection, mention may be made of the four pages devoted to "Dareios und Aegypten".

But now for a warning! The whole of the eleventh chapter—an important one, on Darius and the Zoroastrian religion—is marred by a most unfortunate conception into which the author, who is not an Iranian specialist, has been led by following misguided authorities. He should have checked his view by conference with a broader number of scholars, who would have been glad at least to comment in advance on some of the positions taken, for they appear to command too limited a horizon. The point is this:

The view that Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, lived at the time of Darius and that his patron, Vishtaspa, was the same as Hystaspes, father of the great king, as Prášek assumes, is a view that goes back as early as Anquetil du Perron, and much earlier. Even as late as thirty years ago it was pushed to an extreme by Victor Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot* (1881)—a book which the author does not seem to quote. Nevertheless, in spite of the unquestioned philological identity of the names “Vishtaspa” and “Hystaspes”, the best students of the subject are unanimous in agreeing that Zarathushtra’s patron was *not* the father of Darius. The present reviewer has been the strongest champion of assigning a late date to Zarathushtra (B. C. 660–583), based on the traditional chronology in the Pahlavi books of Sassanian times; but he has, at the same time, been no less strong than others in emphasizing the fact that evidence shows that the two rulers, Hystaspes and Vishtaspa, were *not* identical. Zoroaster’s appearance in the realm of religion and history was prior both to Cyrus and Darius, although we may be practically certain that Darius was a follower of the prophet’s faith. As so much is made of Zoroaster in this particular chapter, “Dareios und die Zoroastrische Religion” (pp. 113–130, compare also p. 25), the Prague historian, with his judicial sense, should not have failed to bring out the other side of the question.

To have to make this criticism on an important chapter—for Zoroastrianism was an important factor in Persia’s history—is not a pleasant task, nor may it seem a gracious one; but it is done in the interest of historic accuracy. In a second edition, which it is to be hoped the book may reach, Professor Prášek should turn to a larger number of specialists who are working in the field, and in this way be guarded also against adopting some fanciful etymologies, like that which distorts Zoroaster’s name “Zarathushtra” into a supposed form “Zotravastra”, “Opferstauden habend” (pp. 122–123), and against a half-dozen other explanations of Persian names that seem equally fantastic. But this detail belongs to the realm of philology, not history.

The estimate of the historic character of Darius (pp. 131–141) is just and is well put; but it may be doubtful whether the view adopted in regard to the Magophonia (p. 140) will meet the approval of all scholars. The summary of the reign of Xerxes, and the judgment with reference to this monarch’s place in history, appear to the reviewer to be accurate and fair. The reader may miss at first, under the reign of Xerxes (p. 155), some treatment of the romantic story of the Bible in regard to Ahasuerus, Esther, and Mordecai, as the names Ahasuerus and Xerxes are really the same, the former being a Hebraicized form of the latter. He will find, however (p. 219), that the author would prefer to transfer this episode, if treated at all, to the reign of Artaxerxes II.

The closing chapters, covering the successive reigns from Artaxerxes I. to the death of Darius Codomannus and the break-up of the

Persian Empire, are valuable for reference; in fact the whole book is a work to refer to, not a history to read. It is to be wished, when the author prepares a second edition, that the name of so important a scholar as Darmesteter—misprinted as “Darmestetter” (p. 113) and “Darmesstetter” (p. 129)—may be correctly given.

These comments must not be regarded as ungenerous carping. The writer would be the last one to engage in that, as Dr. Prášek must know from previous correspondence. They are made as suggestions—and others might be added—to make this erudite work and its predecessor more perfect when published in a new edition, best wishes for which are given.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia. By A. L. FROTHINGHAM, Ph.D., Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at Princeton University. (New York: Sturgis and Walton. 1910. Pp. xix, 343.)

THIS book is a distinct addition to our literature on Roman history; it is also among the most important works on classical subjects lately produced by American authors. The topic is unhackneyed, in fact there is no book covering precisely the same subject in the English language. The literary treatment although sometimes too technical for the general reader will satisfy every seriously minded scholar.

On rather more than three hundred pages Professor Frothingham has tried to bring together the results of his own trained observations upon the smaller cities of ancient Italy and of the Romanized Dalmatian coast. Imperial Rome is of course practically excluded, as are also Milan, Pompeii, Naples, and many other seats of civilization and power. Then too there is no discussion in a systematic way of Aquileia, or of several other cities of one-time importance. On the other hand there is an abundance of careful discussion of a number of towns which are probably little more than names to many fairly careful students of Roman history. Praeneste, the Hernican cities, Norba, Terracina, Circeii, the pre-Roman and Roman city of Perugia, Falerii, the Umbrian towns, and certain north Italian cities such as Turin, Aosta, and Verona, are taken up in succession, their remains analyzed, and in many instances excellent and unusual photographs are given. A feature very welcome in some quarters is the reproducing of scientific reconstructions of ancient buildings and monuments by such authors as Durm.

The main object of the book—and one which on the whole it accomplishes very well—is to make plain that to understand Rome, particularly the Rome of the Republic, and even the Rome of the Kings, it is necessary to examine the numerous small but very venerable towns of Italy. Imperial Rome destroyed nearly every monument of her great past, and yet it was the city of Camillus and of the Scipios that made the capital of Hadrian possible. But in the unspoiled hill-towns of

Italy—in Praeneste, in Assisi, Perugia, and more—and in the coast-towns such as Terracina and Circeii, there are abundant ruins, the study whereof sheds a strong light upon many obscure passages of Republican history.

Among these little-known ruins Professor Frothingham has spent many profitable months, and no student can fail to read his pages without notable illumination. Of course there are no unusual discoveries exploited, nor in one sense are any to be desired. What we do assuredly gain is a more intimate touch and fellowship with the world, say of Appius Claudius Caecus.

Not very many American tourists will have the zeal to follow down all the now obscure villages herein described, but no traveller should henceforth fail to read Professor Frothingham's enlightening twenty pages upon Verona, ere visiting that city; nor his description of the Roman relics at Turin, before one passes through that seemingly extremely modernized railroad centre.

Possibly the most useful part of the entire book, however, is the last chapter that relates to Istria and Dalmatia. The description of the palace of Diocletian at Spalato, although by no means the only one in current literature, is extremely vivid, and thanks to some excellent illustrations and plans gives a clear idea of the vast villa-fortress into which "Jovius", the last successful pagan emperor, retired to hear the tidings of the failure of the persecutions, and of the break-down of his over-ingenious imperial system. Incidentally Professor Frothingham here gives sufficient evidence that although in the fourth century Roman sculpture and painting were in decadence Roman architects were still able to produce impressive and noble effects, even if not in the approved classic style.

The book as a whole somewhat lacks in unity, and can best be read piecemeal; but this is no grievous defect for a work of this kind. It will no doubt soon find its place in every good classical library.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt. Von OTTO SEECK.
Dritter Band. (Berlin: Franz Siemenroth. 1909. Pp. 583.)

WITHOUT undue haste Seeck adds the third of five promised volumes to the two published in 1897 and 1901. The previous volumes dealt with Constantine's restoration of the unity of the empire after the disorders introduced by Diocletian's retirement, the tendency to social dissolution, the effect of barbarian intrusions, the administration of local and imperial government, and the history of religion and morals from primitive Greek times to the Homeric age. The present volume continues the last subject by an account of the oldest Greek mystery cults, the relation of philosophy to popular religion, the religious syncretism of the Roman Empire, and the character and fortunes of Christianity to the Nicene Council, with special interest in the internal conflicts of the Church.

The whole work so far is a collection of sketches written in a smooth and popular style, not significant by the contribution of new facts but as a construction and valuation of data already known. The constructive explanation is offered without discussion, the indication of sources with some critical observations being relegated to the *Anhang* which accompanies each of the volumes.

With a zest for explanation and a distrust of the validity of the religious consciousness Seeck derives religious phenomena from conditions non-religious. The Eleusinian mysteries presenting the hope of blessedness beyond death were the invention of a noble clan to console themselves for the loss of earthly power on the advent of democracy. As quarrelsome or lawless persons would mar the felicity of the life to come, good character was supposed to begin at death, and this led indirectly to an ethical qualification for present membership in the cult. After this beginning we are not surprised to find the influence of Nietzsche and to learn that later developments including the Christian were a degradation to the superstitions and class morality of submerged and slavish strata.

On the whole the book seems to be the work of a clever pamphleteer rather than of a judicious scholar with a safe method. Seeck's aptitude is for catching at resemblances and failing to distinguish things that differ. Having expressed pagan religion in somewhat Christian terms he is keen to present Christianity in its pagan analogies, not analyzing the complex called Christianity in any given age to discover a central germinative principle which gives it its distinctive individuality. It is plain that the Messianic preaching of Jesus rapidly absorbed the practices and ideas of its converts in the empire, but using Christianity as a lump term for anything expressed by a Christian writer and making few discriminations of age and place, Seeck with careless ease presents Christianity and other cults as parallel creations of the same conditions. An absurd instance of Seeck's *religionsgeschichtliche Methode* betraying a complete ignorance of Jewish apocalyptic works may be cited. The Mithra cult and the Stoic philosophy had predicted the conflagration of the world, and the civil wars before Augustus and after Nero made this a popular foreboding. "Christianity took possession of this contemporary idea." The Jews had expected a restoration of the Jewish monarchy under a Davidic king but the catastrophe of the year 70 led the Christians to substitute for the Jewish idea a prediction of the Son of God coming on the clouds of heaven and destroying the wicked by fire.

For Seeck anything is a source and its application unlimited. The Fourth Gospel is as good as the Synoptics. An Augustinian prejudice is cited to characterize all Christians, though Justin, Clement, and Origen held an opposite view. Tertullian's disparagement of philosophy blots Alexandrian Christianity from memory. The account of Christianity produced by such methods and by the Nietzschean animus is a

mere caricature such as a modern Celsus or Lucian might write. The only religious motive operating in Christianity was fear of hell, and the virtues of Christians were not derived from their religion. The Christian view of work was like that of the Neapolitan lazzarone. Christian ethics were the ethics of slaves and beggars who hated the rich man and his culture while they extolled his almsgiving since they depended on it. Jesus and Paul were weak on the duty of chastity and the improved chastity of later times was due to the infusion of German blood. The New Testament did not dare condemn infanticide. It is solemnly argued that Christianity did not favor lying and it is conceded that such debauchees as Nero and Elagabalus were not found among the Christians.

The closing chapters on the Donatist and Arian difficulties are of more value.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Französische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Mitte des Neunten Jahrhunderts bis zur Revolution. Von Dr. ROBERT HOLTZMANN, Professor an der Universität Strassburg i. E. [Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1910. Pp. xi, 543.)

THIS volume is the ninth and the latest addition to the series, *Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte*, edited by G. von Below and F. Meinecke, professors in the University of Freiburg i. Br., the latter being also editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. Other volumes of the series already include: *Das häusliche Leben der Europäischen Kulturvölker vom Mittelalter bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, by Dr. Alwin Schultz; *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters von 1197-1492*, by Dr. Johann Loserth; *Historische Geographie*, by Dr. Konrad Kretschmer; *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit*, by Dr. A. Luschin von Ebengreuth; *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1660 bis 1789*, by Dr. Max Immich; *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, by Professor Adolf Schaube; and *Allgemeine Geschichte der Germanischen Völker bis zur Mitte des Sechsten Jahrhunderts*, by Professor Ludwig Schmidt.

In a prospectus of the series the general editors call attention to the fact that this is the day of the historical specialist, and that there is great necessity to synthesize in a comprehensive form the enormous mass of literature, especially that of a periodical character, which has appeared within the last twenty years upon the subject of medieval and modern history. How comprehensive the general plan of this series is may be perceived from the statement that it will extend to forty

volumes when completed—"Jeder Band ein abgeschlossenes Ganzes bildet und auch einzeln abgegeben wird." In his own preface Dr. Holtzmann, not without pride, says that his work is the first German treatment of French institutional history within the last half-century—since the time of Schaeffner and Warnkönig-Stein. He emphasizes the statement that it is primarily a history of the development of the French monarchy and not a survey of the infinite variety of French feudal institutions, which have interest for him only as they pertain to the evolution of the crown.

Naturally the author has leaned heavily upon the works of Flach (whom he names first, singularly enough), Glasson, Luchaire, Viollet, and Esmein, but he has also familiarized himself with the current periodical literature. In form the work is rigidly modelled after Luchaire's well-known *Manuel*, even to details of structure. The difference in proportion is, however, great. Luchaire's volume fills 613 pages and covers only the direct Capetian period. Holtzmann has endeavored to cover the field of French institutional history from 843 to 1789 in 502 pages. Of course his treatment is briefer in proportion. The book is divided into three periods: "Die Zeit des Lehnwesens, 843-1180"; "Die Zeit der wachsenden Königsmacht, 1180-1437"; "Die Zeit des Absoluten Königtums, 1437-1789." For myself I fail to appreciate the philosophy of this division. Despite the great development of the French crown under Philip Augustus and St. Louis, it seems to me that the monarchy of these kings had a more organic connection with the earlier than the later period. Until the reign of Philip IV. its institutions were pre-eminently of a feudal nature. The history of the French monarchy under Philip IV. and the Valois kings has a unity all its own which Dr. Holtzmann has confused by the form of division he has adopted. While the thirteenth century was a wonderfully creative epoch, from the point of view of practical life the results of the changes then begun fell in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is true of political theory, of the art of war, and especially true of the history of industrial changes and the new policy of the French crown, as well as that of the English kings and the popes of Avignon towards property and the development of new forms of taxation. The last period also seems to me unhappily divided. It is false proportion to assume that the monarchy was absolute in the days of Charles VII. and Louis XI. Theoretically this is so. But until the reign of Louis XIII. this authority was still personal. It remained for Richelieu to give the kingship that qualitative character commonly associated with the term absolute monarchy. The kingship of the last Valois and of Henry IV. has as much or more in common with that of Louis XI. as with that of Louis XIII.

The author's plan is nearly uniform throughout. Each book has a chapter on the king's prerogative in the separate periods; upon the administration of justice; upon finance and taxation; army and navy; provincial government; and the Church. The treatment is clear and

concise. Perhaps it is the duty of a manual to set forth not processes but results. But the compression in many cases has squeezed out so much historical information that one not too familiar with the history of France might easily become bewildered. For example, the history of the changes in the art of war between 1300 and 1600—a fascinating subject—is reduced to a lifeless and inadequate summary of a dozen pages, scattered in two places. Similarly the revolutionary changes in the form and method of taxation which were witnessed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for all that the reader can perceive, had little relation with the industrial revolution of the period, or such social and economic changes as are manifest in the revolts of Paris in 1358, 1382, and 1407; the displacement of population owing to incessant war and the Black Death; or the wide commercial bearing of the wool and wine trade. The last portion of the volume is best, when the absolute monarchy has emerged and has a clear field of development, simplifying complications by crushing them, as in the case of the Huguenots and the Jansenists. Six pages, excellent in the main, are those dealing with the conflicting theories of sovereignty which arose in the last half of the sixteenth century and the evolution of the theory of sovereignty thereafter, down to Montesquieu and Rousseau. The important contribution, however, of Bayle and other Huguenot publicists to this subject is not noticed, and the paragraph dealing with the doctrine of assassination is very inadequate. (Cf. my *Wars of Religion in France*, pp. 274-276, and the admirable article by Platzhoff, "Die Theorie von der Mordbefugnis der Obrigkeit im XVI. Jahrhundert", in Ebering's *Historische Studien*, heft 54, of which no mention is made.) The bibliographies are excellent. Dr. Holtzmann has explored all important periodical material. In one particular the selections are notable. Except for collections of sources there are few allusions to works or articles older than twenty-five or thirty years. The enormous amount of antiquarian material which appeared in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century has been eliminated almost wholly in favor of the modern scientific literature upon the subject. There are, however, a few important omissions from the bibliography. The most notable seems to be omission of Nicholas Oresme, the greatest publicist of France in the fourteenth century, whose *Traité de la Première Invention des Monnaies* and translations of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Economics* profoundly influenced Charles V. (cf. Meunier, *Essai sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Nicole Oresme*, Paris, 1857, and the edition of Oresme's treatise by Wolowski, Paris, 1864). Other bibliographical omissions are Tardif, *La Procédure Civile et Criminelle aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles* (Paris, 1885), an indispensable book; Beugnot, *Essai sur les Institutions de St. Louis* (Paris, 1821), still a good book; Saige, *Les Juifs du Languedoc* (1881); Duckett, *Charters and Records among the Archives of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni* (2 vols., London, 1888); Oman, *The Art of War*.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Peerage and Pedigree: Studies in Peerage Law and Family History.

By J. HORACE ROUND, M.A., LL.D. In two volumes. (London: James Nisbet and Company. 1910. Pp. xxviii, 362; 408.)

For the past few years Mr. Round has devoted his great gifts of analysis and his unrivalled knowledge of the Norman and early Angevin periods to the service of genealogy rather than of history, though genealogy in his hands often means history. The present volumes contain a number of essays, hitherto unpublished except the paper on the House of Lords, of the same general character as those in Mr. Round's earlier *Studies in Peerage and Family History*. The paper on the House of Lords, first published "in a magazine" in 1884-1885 and here republished because of its bearing on the present constitutional crisis in England, thoroughly deserved to be rescued from the oblivion of a periodical, where at least the present writer had not discovered it. From its date I think it must be granted the distinction of being the first clear assertion of the completely feudal character of the early *curia regis*. The essays on the Barony of Delawarr, the Muddle of the Law, Tales of the Conquest, Some Saxon Houses, and the Geste of John de Courcy, have considerable incidental historical interest.

Mr. Round makes it his mission to expose what he believes to be sham and pretense, and he does it in most cases with a wealth, with a superabundance even, of evidence for his case which leaves nothing to be said in reply. He does it also with a keenness of ridicule which makes even his most recondite discussions interesting reading—except to the victims. Of special historical value is his demonstration of the entire untrustworthiness of the historical evidence which Lord Coke alleges in support of his legal dicta. Professor Jenks's contention in regard to Coke's interpretation of Magna Carta certainly gains support from Mr. Round's argument. The modern judge and lawyer are shown also to imagine much false history, and even the *Dictionary of National Biography* is found occasionally at fault.

The special object of the book is of course to expose the pretensions of British families which have arisen within the last few generations to long descent and particularly to connection with great historical families of the past. It would be interesting if Mr. Round would perform the same service to American genealogy, though to be sure, from our lack of hereditary governing families, American genealogy cannot have the same close connection with history that British has. He would find certainly abundant material for similar criticisms in claims to connection with British families, even to the right to bear extinct British peerage titles, and especially in the method, which he denounces with reiterated emphasis, employed in collecting ancestors by those families whose name is derived from a Christian name. He does in this connection notice the genealogy of the American Goodwins, but there is a library of books of the sort to be had, and in the case of one such family at least genealogy and heraldry could be combined, for its published history

displays as frontispiece a most gorgeous coat of arms made by quartering the arms of various ancient barons and crusaders who happened to bear the given Christian name, a coat constructed, we are told, by the Herald's College.

Les Origines de la Domination Angevine en Italie. Par E. JORDAN, de la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. cliii, 660.)

THIS is a careful and detailed study of the negotiations and events, between 1250 and 1266, which led to the establishment of the Angevin rule in Sicily and southern Italy. It is preceded by a long introduction which summarizes the position and relations of the cities in northern and central Italy between 1197 and 1250.

The author thinks that the pope was deceived in Charles of Anjou; that he had counted upon finding in him a docile and submissive vassal, but that Charles instead, without breaking with the pope and even under the pretext of serving him, attempted to dominate him; that Charles adopted in many respects the projects of Manfred, and aspired to bring about Italian unity. "L'objet de ce livre est de rechercher les causes et les raisons profondes de cette déception, c'est-à-dire de montrer qu'elle était inévitable et fatale" (p. xv). The account in this book of the negotiations between Charles and the pope shows that the above statement is not true. Each one of the popes concerned was profoundly distrustful of Charles and sought to restrict him in every possible manner so that he might not become a dangerous rival or foe. Their distrust became more pronounced as the negotiations proceeded, but the urgent danger from Manfred finally compelled Clement IV. to yield to every demand which Charles made.

In most respects the work is admirable. The characterization of each pope is excellent, and sufficient documents are presented to illustrate the generalizations. The position of the bankers in the Italian cities is explained, and the control which the pope was able to exercise over them. M. Jordan thinks that Charles's success was due to the loans made by the Tuscan and Roman bankers, which the pope guaranteed by a mortgage upon the property of the churches in Rome. The importance of Sicily as a vantage point for a crusade against either the Greeks at Constantinople or the Mohammedans in Syria or Egypt, and the intimate connection, in the thoughts of many contemporaries, between the crusade against Sicily and the crusades *Outre-Mer*, are well depicted. Much of this is not new; and the author gives full credit in his bibliographical notes; but all the material is brought together into a well-digested account.

While the book requires very close reading because of the immense amount of detail, the presentation on the whole is clear. At one point it is enlivened by a passage which illustrates the strange condition to which the papacy was reduced. Barral had been appointed *podestà* of

Milan by Charles of Anjou. As the city was then under interdict, Barral became excommunicate by accepting the office. The pope informed him of the fact and of his sympathy, in a friendly letter, and a little later urged Charles to send to the aid of Milan two hundred knights, who would also incur excommunication. "Voilà ce qu'étaient devenues ces sentences d'excommunication et d'interdit, jadis si redoutées, à présent tant discréditées par l'abus qui en avait été fait" (p. 591)! This also illustrates one of the main contentions of the author throughout the work: "Ce n'est donc pas par irrégion que tant d'Italiens ont combattu le Saint-Siège. L'inverse serait peut-être plus vrai; l'habitude de combattre le Saint-Siège a provoqué l'irrégion. Excommuniés, frappés d'interdit, privés en théorie, et malgré certains adoucissements, privés même en fait de toute vie spirituelle, les partisans de l'Empire s'accoutumèrent à se passer de ce qu'on leur refusait, puis à le dédaigner. Exclue de l'Église, ils lui devinrent étrangers, parfois hostiles, moins par conviction que par irritation. . . . Ainsi les luttes de partis ont eu des effets funestes pour la religion. Mais la religion avait été pour bien peu de chose dans la formation des partis" (p. clii).

The main portion of the volume is supplied with copious notes; no important source or secondary work seems to have been overlooked. Finally, there is a long index of proper names, but no analytical index to the wealth of material contained in the volume.

DANA C. MUNRO.

Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.

Herausgegeben von EMIL GÖLLER. [Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316-1378, herausgegeben von der Görres-Gesellschaft, I.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1910. Pp. xvi, 782, 134*.)

WITH this volume the Görres-Gesellschaft continues the publication of the financial documents of the papacy, a task to which it was among the first of the institutions engaged in investigating the Vatican Archives to give proper attention. The present volume, however, marks a new departure. The earlier volumes were intended to illustrate mainly the papal fiscal relations with Germany, but this is the first of a series, in which it is proposed to publish systematically the financial registers which display the receipts and expenditures of the papal treasury during the period of the Avignonese residence.

Göller has divided his introduction into two parts. The first contains a brief section on the literature of the subject, in which the only new feature is a discussion of the treatment accorded the Camera in works on canon law. A description is also given of the financial registers, which is largely an expansion of an earlier paper by the same author (*Römische Quartalschrift*, XV. 281-302). The second and major portion deals with the revenues existing at the time of John XXII. Here Göller's chief contributions are in the form of corrections of erro-

neous conclusions of earlier investigators and supplementary information on various detailed aspects of the subject. He brings forward much new and valuable evidence of this sort concerning the early history of procurations, *spolia, fructus medii temporis*, and especially *servitia*, and throws new light on the much controverted question of the treasure of John XXII.

The introduction adds much to our detailed information concerning the papal revenues, and it is evidently the result of wide and painstaking research, but it is unfortunately marred by a number of inaccuracies. Testing it by the references to England, the following instances of error evidence a certain amount of laxity. When enumerating the payments of the one thousand marks of annual tribute made by the English kings during the pontificate of John XXII. (p. 64*), he omits the payment of two thousand marks made in 1319 (*Introitus et Exitus*, vol. XV., f. 45r.). Again, giving an erroneous reference, Göller states that the King of England was granted one-half the income derived from the triennial levy of annates in England begun in 1316 (p. 96*). The actual concession was one-half the amount secured from the first year of the triennial levy (Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum*, p. 190). His account of the tenths levied in England during the pontificate of John XXII. (p. 98*) is almost entirely wrong. He makes no mention of the annual tenths granted to the king in 1317, 1319, and 1320 (Rymer, *Foedera*, II. 139; Wilkins, *Concilia*, II. 492; Bliss, *Calendar*, II. 191), while a biennial tenth granted in 1322 (Bliss, II. 449) is dated 1324. The year's income from the sexennial tenth imposed at the Council of Vienne, which Göller says was granted to Edward II., was merely loaned for five years (Rymer, II. 320). Such errors and omissions, although they do not affect the writer's principal contributions, are to be regretted in an otherwise excellent piece of work.

The main portion of the book contains in full the financial accounts which display the income of the papal Camera, and extracts which illustrate the nature of other series of accounts. As an editor Göller has done his work faithfully and well, evidently sparing no pains to secure scholarly accuracy. Duplicate registers have been compared and variations in the spelling of proper names are noted, duplicate entries of the same item in different sets of accounts are indicated, and the value of the documents is greatly enhanced by a carefully prepared index of proper names. The documents, mostly printed for the first time, form the beginning of a series, which will be as important for the medieval economic historian as are the calendars of papal registers for the student of general papal history.

W. E. LUNT.

Georges Chastellain: Étude sur l'Histoire Politique et Littéraire du XV^e Siècle. Par GABRIEL PÉROUSE, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1910. Pp. 161.)

HERE is a discriminating study of the Burgundian chronicler written with a delicate appreciation of the historic and literary values of Georges Chastellain and of the rank he deserves in the fifteenth century. At the same time there is no oblivion to his shortcomings either as recorder or poet. To one who has quarried the extant books of Chastellain's *Chronique* for contributions to two biographies, it is a profound satisfaction to welcome this work of M. Pérouse which does ample justice to its subject in marvellously brief space.

Chastellain belonged to a family of castellans of Alost, a village near Ghent. Thus he was Flemish of origin but the nation he was proud to claim as his own was Burgundy, that shadowy realm, ill defined yet almost materialized during the writer's lifetime. In his mind it was a realm subordinate to and inalienable from France. Attempts to sever the one from the other, such as the alliances between the Burgundian dukes and England, seemed to him heinous crimes. His own statement of himself is: "I who am not English but French, who am neither Spaniard nor Italian but French, the servant of two Frenchmen, the one King the other duke, I have written of their deeds and disputes." He was imbued with feudal devotion to his overlords but the duke came first. He could never have deserted him for the king as Comynnes did. His life from 1405[?] to 1475 covered the events of the Anglo-French wars and the Franco-Burgundian quarrels, the periods of Henry V. and VI., of Jeanne d'Arc and Charles VII., of Philip and Charles of Burgundy, of the early years of Louis XI. In close touch with the ducal court as he was, the author had many opportunities for observing political events as they passed, and he did not wait until his old age to recount his half-forgotten experiences like Olivier de la Marche. His complete *Chronique* tells the story of a little over half a century down almost to the author's death. Unfortunately only a portion of the manuscript has been found and there are many disappointing breaks in the narrative. Though Burgundian sentiment is all-pervading, it is evident that Chastellain sets a high ideal for himself and conscientiously tries to be fair, just as he tries to show foundation for his statements of events where he was not present by inserting documents, letters, etc., into his text. The bits of real color in the narrative of what he actually saw are charming. His own personality was kept scrupulously in the background even at these points of reminiscence and he is provokingly silent about himself, according to the etiquette of his time. Naturally he lacks perspective. Any contemporary must do so, as M. Pérouse points out, but his honesty as an observer is very evident, especially in the passages where the events described are painful to him. In 1473, Charles of Burgundy gave him golden spurs and changed his title of chronicler to *indiciare*, but even in his capacity

as official historian Chastellain permits his doubts of the duke's wisdom to appear, and his apprehension of impending misfortunes foreshadows the disaster of Nancy occurring two years after the writer's death.

In his consideration of the *Opuscules* and *Poésies* of Chastellain, M. Pérouse shows the same sympathetic and critical acumen as in dealing with the *Chronique*. In the occasional works the subjects are always connected with the Franco-Burgundian crises and always used to develop the author's fundamental feudal principles. There are some interesting passages, some vivid pictures, but the choice of words is often very tiresome. His diction is far more labored and affected than in the *Chronique*.

The poems are the least poetic portion of the man's work. The sparks of divine fire that flash out from time to time in his prose, the dramatic power shown in his narrative, do not illumine the long-drawn-out rhymed disquisitions. It was natural to his time to feel that certain topics demanded measure and every cultivated person was expected to use it. There are some poetic passages in Chastellain and he is credited with the invention of one metre used freely by Cretin and Jean Masot. M. Pérouse gives perhaps more honor to the poems than they deserve but that is the only criticism to be applied to his review.

RUTH PUTNAM.

Histoire de la Marine Française. Tome IV. En Quête d'un Empire Colonial: Richelieu. Par CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE, Conservateur-Adjoint, Chef de la Section de Géographie à la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1910. Pp. 740.)

THERE is something of the spirit of Richard Hakluyt in M. de la Roncière—something of his patient devotion to completeness, his omnivorousness, and above all his intense nationalism which glows beneath the sober scholarship of his successor's massive documentation. The work has its defects but they are the defects of its qualities. It is not a naval history nor is it a history of colonial and commercial enterprise. It is an attempt to combine the two with excursions into admiralty and trade organization.

Though we may bow in respect to a man who dares to till so vast a field, we may regret he was not content with something more nearly within the compass of human endeavor. The outcome is a certain barrenness, for all the heroic husbandry—an intense growth but sparse fruition. We get an exhaustive if somewhat thin chronicle of minute naval enterprises, but very little that can throw light on the tactical or strategical progress of the time. There is little attempt moreover to get perspective and proportion by comparison with concurrent movements elsewhere. M. de la Roncière's indifference to any point of view that lies outside France is indeed his main stumbling-block. The present

volume covers approximately the century that lies between 1550 and 1650 and yet we have no word of the influence of the Anglo-Spanish struggle on French maritime developments and scarcely anything of the contribution of Menéndez and the Duke of Osuña. In short it is the work of an archivist rather than that of a fully equipped historian.

To deal faithfully with such a teeming work within the compass of a short review is impossible. Anglo-Saxon students on both sides of the ocean will probably seek most eagerly for new light upon the Elizabethan birth-time, and they will not seek in vain. Here we have from M. de la Roncière a real contribution to history. Readers of the Elizabethan "*Voyages*" will recall the romantic meeting in 1573 between Drake and a certain Huguenot captain called "*Têtu*", and they will remember how they joined forces and captured the Panama mule-trains together at the cost of the gallant Frenchman's life. We are now shown that episode for what it really was—no mere meeting of two irresponsible sea-rovers, but the coming into contact of two great imperial movements that for a while ran side by side to the terror of Spain. It is true that in telling the story M. de la Roncière confuses two different exploits of Drake, but that matters little beside the light he throws on who this "*Têtu*" was and why he was there. We are able to identify him now (no longer conjecturally) with the famous pilot and cosmographer Guillaume le Testu, the expert adviser of the adventurous colonial group that centred first round Coligny and then round Catherine de' Medici and Philip Strozzi. We are shown how Le Testu had behind him personages and influences no less high than those which were pushing Drake forward and how each of them was charged with the first move in a high affair of state. In all respects the two manifestations of national energy were curiously similar. In both cases it was a "*Secret de la Reine*" and under this title M. de la Roncière deals with the strange story as it developed after Le Testu's death—the piratical attempt to found a French colonial empire on the ruins of that of Portugal in South America. For the first time we are able to realize the true significance of the battle of the Azores and the breadth and promise of the policy which it brought to an end.

Yet it is characteristic of M. de la Roncière's method that he leaves the story incomplete. The mystery of the connection between the "*Secret de la Reine*" and the English episode of the "*Strange Guest*" is left unfathomed, and we still remain uncertain as to why it was that Drake and Hawkins almost at the last moment were not permitted to fight under Don Antonio's flag at Strozzi's side. The meeting and the parting of the French and English imperial movements! What more fascinating chapter is there in maritime history? Yet for all M. de la Roncière's industry it still awaits the telling. The defeat of Strozzi by Santa-Cruz is really the central point of the book—it was in truth as he calls it, "*La Débâcle de la Marine*". At a blow the naval enterprise of France was crushed, and while Spain and England continued the

great sea contest alone, for France there was nothing but the trivial operations of the wars of the League and disconnected expeditions of little or no significance to all parts of the world. From their weary succession M. de la Roncière permits us no relief till with the advent of the seventeenth century new spheres of interest begin to ripen in Canada and the Mediterranean.

The volume concludes in a richer vein with the maritime revival under Richelieu. His centralization of the various admiralties and the consequent unification of the fleet are well shown as the backbone of his work. The whole process of the revolution and the new outburst of colonial venture that arose from it belong to the main stream of history and are well worth the care and industry which have been bestowed upon them. On the whole it may be asserted with confidence that if M. de la Roncière's work is one that none but serious students will care to take in hand, it is also one that no serious student can afford to neglect. Those who have used his earlier volumes will know that this is no mere compliment and they may be assured that the present volume well maintains the quality and distinction of the rest.

JULIAN S. CORBETT.

L'Organisation Financière du Clergé de France à l'Époque de Louis XIV. Par ALBERT CANS, Professeur au Lycée de Reims. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1910. Pp. xvi, 323.)

La Contribution du Clergé de France à l'Impôt pendant la Seconde Moitié du Règne de Louis XIV. (1689-1715). Par ALBERT CANS, Professeur au Lycée de Reims. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1910. Pp. xi, 105.)

THESE volumes are the fruits of Professor Émile Bourgeois's new incumbency at the Sorbonne, M. Cans having followed him thither from the École Normale Supérieure. The first volume is a thesis for the *agrégé d'histoire*. The task was well worth doing, for we know far too little of the internal history of the reign of Louis XIV. To be sure the topic was not entirely new, for Maury contributed a series of articles to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1879-1880, but his treatment was disconnected, as he dealt with specific episodes only. As to the works of the Abbé Méric, *L'Ancien Clergé de France* (1890), and that of the Abbé Bourlon, *Les Assemblées du Clergé de France* (1906), the former covered too large a subject to treat adequately this particular topic, and the latter was one of a popular series upon science and religion. The present work is a fitting sequel to M. Serbat's admirable work, *Les Assemblées du Clergé de France: Origines, Organisation, Développement, 1561-1615* (Paris, 1906).

There is a formidable list of manuscript sources; the printed sources are significantly few. Their extreme importance may be appreciated

when it is borne in mind that under the Ancient Régime the clergy was the only institution which had an autonomous, regular, and permanent organization governing its financial relations with the crown. The careful delimitation of the subject has enabled M. Cans to go intensively into it. In the first place he rigorously excludes the spiritual activity of the assemblies of the clergy, the conflict with the Huguenots and the Jansenists, the struggle with the *réguliers*, the question of Gallican liberties, etc. Secondly, the subject itself has self-limitations. The author is not obliged by the nature of his theme to consider the clergy of Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, Roussillon, or the benefices of Sarre, Luxembourg, and Spire, for all these territories ecclesiastically were of the "*Clergé Étranger*". Consequently he is dealing with France in the closer sense of the term.

In plan and treatment the work is very different from that of M. Serbat; but the nature of the subject differs. The epoch between 1561 and 1615 was made tumultuous by the wars of the Huguenots and the activity of the Holy League. The epoch M. Cans has chosen is that period of calm, regular operation of French institutions between the troubles of the Fronde and the Regency. The first portion, comprising thirty-six pages, is an historical survey of the rise and development of clerical immunity. Part II. (pp. 37-144) deals with the structure of the church assemblies and their organization during the reign of Louis XIV. The core of the book is part III. in which the fiscal organization of the Gallican Church and its relations with the crown are set forth in detail. There are nine appendixes and a map of the administrative division of the clergy of France at the end of the reign of Louis XIV.

The alert student will readily make the application for himself of this admirable study to the general history of the reign of Louis XIV. But lest he fail to do so, M. Cans has pointed out the course by himself, following up his first work by a particular study of the important part played by the clergy of France in the war of the League of Augsburg and that of the Spanish Succession. This inquiry falls into two parts. (1) What proportion is there between the sums furnished by the clergy to the king between 1690 and 1715 and those furnished by the rest of the nation? (2) What proportion is there between the contribution made by the clergy and their whole revenue?

It is unfortunate that these two important questions cannot be answered completely, owing partly to the absence of full secular records and partly to the difficulty of evaluation. M. Cans's conclusion is that during this long and supreme crisis of Louis XIV.'s reign the conduct of the clergy was remarkable for its devotion. Estimating the average annual revenue of the Church at one hundred and ten millions—Vauban figured it at seventy-five, Boisguillebert at one hundred and fifty, an English source cited by Boislisle (*St. Simon*, VII. 516) at two hundred and eighty-six—he concludes that between 1660 and 1690 the clergy contributed eleven per cent. of their annual income to the crown, and that

between 1690 and 1715 they contributed fifty-eight per cent. These sums seem large. Yet from a general point of view they were not so great. For compared with the entire revenue of France, M. Cans is of the opinion that the contribution of the clergy was but three per cent. of the whole. It is manifest how terribly heavy the weight of taxation must have been upon the bourgeoisie and peasantry. In this manner history newly justifies the protests of Vauban and Fénelon, and the mordant pages of St. Simon.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series. Volume II., A. D. 1680-1720. Edited through the direction of the Lord President of the Council by W. L. GRANT, M.A., Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford, and JAMES MUNRO, M.A., University Assistant in History in the University of Edinburgh, under the general supervision of Sir ALMERIC W. FITZROY, K.C.V.O., Clerk of the Privy Council. (London: Wyman and Sons. 1910. Pp. xl, 918.)

THE second volume of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, which covers the period from 1680 to 1720, yields in no way to the first in value and interest. As was to have been expected the entries throw light chiefly upon the working of the Council, a matter upon which we need light more than anywhere else, but the information furnished regarding colonial history is very considerable and there are in this volume not less than a hundred long sections that either give new facts or add to what is already known. Furthermore the volume contains hundreds of names of individuals and ships, many details regarding ordnance stores and the like, many in extenso copies of representations of the Lords of Trade and Board of Trade, and much information regarding governors' commissions and instructions. The student of colonial history will probably be surprised at the extent of the powers which the Council exercised over the plantations and at the numbers of appeals, petitions, and memorials with which it had to deal. Some day we shall have a competent study made of the Council in its relations to the plantations, and we shall then probably wonder why all this new material was not brought to light before.

The most important question raised by the editors in their preface concerns not the colonies but the committee system of the Council, a matter of interest to the student of English constitutional history. It is well known that under the Restoration standing committees were appointed at the beginning or in the course of each reign. It was so in 1660, it was so in 1685 (p. 75). We also know that a century later a standing committee of the Council for trade was appointed, and that to-day standing committees representing the old committees are appointed by Order in Council for Jersey, Guernsey, and the Isle of Man.

But we do not know certainly what was the status of the committee system between 1688 and 1784, though the natural inference has been that the standing committees were continued. In fact, any ordinary reading of the phraseology of the Register certainly supports that inference (*cf.* §§ 657, 1138).

But there is good reason to think otherwise. (1) After 1685 there is no mention of the revival of the standing committees at the beginning of the reign or any mention during the reign of particular persons appointed to constitute such committees. (2) Though many committees, under many names, are mentioned in the Register, the evidence seems to show that they are not separate committees but the same committee, that is, the whole Council sitting under different titles; the names are frequently used interchangeably and the same business is frequently referred to a committee with one title and debated or reported on by committees bearing other titles, some of which are called committees of the whole Council. (3) No committee records were kept, as was the case with the Lords of Trade before 1696 and the Committee for Trade in and after 1784, but the reports entered in the Register with occasional minutes of debate constitute the record of the committee. From these and other facts the conclusion seems inevitable that after 1688 standing committees as such ceased to exist and all business not referred to departments was debated technically before the whole Council. The first indication of the new procedure appears when, January 27, 1688, the Lords of Trade, hitherto a standing committee, were transformed into a committee of the whole Council (§ 249).

The editors do not attempt to explain why such a change was deemed necessary, but a possible reason may be suggested here. Technically, every meeting of the Council from which the king or lords justices were absent was a committee, no matter how many or how few (above two) were present. This is manifestly what is meant by the word "committee" as used in this volume after 1688, and it looks as if the abolition of the standing committees was but one phase of an attempt to strengthen the Council as committee, or, to put it another way, to check the growth of the standing committees at the expense of the whole Council. Sentiment against the standing committees of the Stuarts expressed itself in Parliamentary debate before 1701 and found formal embodiment in section iv. of the Act of Settlement. This desire to revive the deliberative functions and responsibility of the whole Council, because the committee system of the Restoration favored the growth of a possible instrument of despotism, the Cabinet Council, which though not a committee of the Council was closely identified with it, may have suggested the handing over of all conciliar business to the Council as committee and the requiring that all matters, plantation and other, be debated by the whole body and not by any of its parts.

But if such was the object of the change, the effort was a failure. Just as section iv. of the Act of Settlement was repealed in 1705, so

the attempt to revive the deliberative functions of the Council, by abolishing the standing committees, broke down of its own weight. Business was never actually done by the whole Council, but by a few members who were specially familiar with the subject in hand. The editors mention only one case of actual attendance, when three lords constituted the committee of the whole Council and sat as "The Lords of the Committee for hearing Appeals from the Plantations", so that it would be worth while to examine the Register and the memoranda of committee meetings among the unbound papers to see if conclusive evidence cannot be obtained on this point. But probably there was little real difference between the system under the Stuarts and that adopted after the Revolution, except that the absence of definite nomination must have detracted very much from the unity, independence, and solidarity of such committees. Any one of the Council could come in and debate and vote as he liked, and this fact must have prevented any shaping of policy on the part of the committee. The meetings might under some circumstances have resembled those of the private bill committees of the House of Commons under George III., though there is no reason to believe that the scandals arising from the attendance of the "guinea" members of Parliament would ever have accompanied the sittings of the committee of the Privy Council.

The editors of this volume have done their work remarkably well. The entries are models of compactness, and the plan which they have here adopted of bringing together all extracts relating to a particular subject in a single section will prove a great convenience to scholars. Cross-references are given to the Plantation Register, and to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, as far as December, 1700. Four appendixes are added, containing (1) commissions and instructions to colonial governors; (2) nominations, etc., to colonial councils; (3) colonial acts confirmed or disallowed; and (4) additional entries from the Plantation Register, not included in the rest of the work. The arrangement of entries, the elaborate tabulation of embargoes, the making up of the appendixes, and the gathering of the cross-references must have involved a great deal of intelligent and prolonged labor. Finally, it is a matter of congratulation that Sir Almeric W. FitzRoy, to whom the inception of the work is due, is able to announce the speedy completion of the undertaking. A third volume is promised for the autumn and a fourth will appear some time during the winter.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Le Parlement de Bretagne et le Pouvoir Royal au XVIII^{me} Siècle.

Par A. LE MOY, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: H. Champion. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 605.)

THESE two attractively printed volumes by M. Le Moy form a most valuable contribution to the literature, still far from complete, of the history of the French parlements in the eighteenth century. The work

rests upon a solid base of original material, consisting, in addition to the printed documents, of a great mass of manuscript material found in Paris, in departmental, municipal, and private archives. With the secondary literature, M. Le Moy is as well acquainted as with his sources.

The first volume, the more important of the two, deals with the struggle between the Parlement of Bretagne and the royal power in the eighteenth century. Some portions of this period had already been well treated in monographs, but there were considerable gaps, fresh material rendered possible some slight modifications in the theses defended by the writers of monographs, and it seemed desirable to present the period as a whole. The volume falls into two parts. In the first, M. Le Moy gives a sketch of the social and economic conditions among the members of the Breton parlements, in which he describes the prestige of that body in the province, the prices paid for their offices, absenteeism, the slowness in the administration of justice, the partizan spirit of the court, parliamentary manners and customs, and parliamentary society. The study is largely new, well done, and will prove of great value to the student of the history of the French courts in the eighteenth century. The second part treats of the various causes of strife between the parlement and the royal power. M. Le Moy divides the century into four periods: 1715 to 1756, 1756 to May, 1765, 1765 to the death of Louis XV. in 1774, and 1774 to 1789, the end of the parlement. In the first period, the parlement exercised its political power only intermittently and preserved up to 1756 its primitive character of a court of justice. "After 1756, the Parlement of Bretagne resembled rather a deliberative assembly, invested with a right of control over the state." The period was filled with grave conflicts between the monarchy and the parlements, in which the Parlement of Bretagne played an important rôle. Much of the responsibility for the hostility of the parlement, M. Le Moy lays at the door of the Duc d'Aiguillon. The long struggle between d'Aiguillon, commandant of the province, and La Chalotais, procureur of the parlement, is described in detail. M. Le Moy's conception of the character of the two men and of the significance of the rôles they played differs from that of MM. Marion, Carré, and Pocquet, who have dealt with this episode of the parliamentary struggle. "La Chalotais", writes M. Le Moy, "does not seem to us, furthermore, to deserve all the rigors of MM. Marion and Carré. Perhaps he does not deserve either the eulogies heaped upon him by M. B. Pocquet." It has not been his aim, however, to rehabilitate the Duc d'Aiguillon. The third period, a most troubled one, was marked by the continuation of the struggle between La Chalotais and d'Aiguillon, ending, in 1768, with the withdrawal of the duke from the province and the triumph of the parlement. The last period, 1774 to 1789, was perhaps the most interesting of all. It was marked by the attempt of Brienne to destroy the political power of the parlements, the failure of the attempt, the calling of the States General, and the loss of popular favor by the parlement, because of its opposition to the doubling of the representation of the Third Estate.

The second volume contains the texts of seventeen remonstrances of the parlement in the eighteenth century, preceded by an introduction, in which M. Le Moy describes the form and contents of these remonstrances. Under the head of "form", he gives an account of all the steps taken by the parlement in drawing up and presenting a remonstrance; under that of "content", he enumerates the different matters that gave rise to remonstrances. This introduction will prove to be as great an aid to the student of parliamentary remonstrances as the introduction of the first volume will be on the social and economic conditions of the courts. When we shall have as satisfactory a volume on the history of the other parlements of France as those of Flammermont for the Parlement of Paris and Le Moy for the Parlement of Bretagne, it will be possible to write the history of the struggle of the royal power in France with the parlements in the eighteenth century.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Hungary in the Eighteenth Century. By HENRY MARCZALI. With an Introductory Essay on the Earlier History of Hungary, by HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1910. Pp. lxiv, 377.)

THE number of works on Hungarian history accessible to those not conversant with the Magyar language is so limited that it is always a particular pleasure to welcome an addition to the list; and in this case, fortunately, we have presented to us one of the best productions of recent Hungarian historiography.

Dr. Marczali, now professor in the University of Budapest, published in 1881-1888 under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Science three volumes (seven books) on *The History of Hungary in the Reign of Joseph II.* It is the first book of this highly reputed work that now lies before us, revised for this purpose by the author and translated with the co-operation of Professor Yolland of the University of Budapest. Mr. Temperley's introductory essay is, in general, concise and adequate, though not always quite accurate in statements of fact.

Professor Marczali's book is not a political history of the country and period in question, but seeks rather to describe the state of Hungary about the time of the accession of Joseph II. The eighteenth century in Hungary has usually been branded by historians as an age of sad decadence in every branch of the national life. The author has set himself to test this verdict by making for the first time a thorough study of the archives, official and private, with the aim of getting to the bottom of the question, of bringing to light the inner forces of the nation, the silent processes going on below the surface, the real nature of, and the organic connections between, the chief factors, political, economic, and intellectual, then at work. The result has been something like a "rehabilitation" of the Hungary of the eighteenth century.

The great interest of this, as of all other periods of Hungarian history, lies in observing to what extent and by what means the Magyar race preserved on the one hand its predominance within the kingdom, and on the other its independence and its national character in the face of Western political influences and Western civilization. As regards the first of these questions, the author's chief contribution consists in bringing out for the first time the historical significance of the colonization of the Alföld after the expulsion of the Turks. By their victory over their Servian and German competitors, who were favored by the Viennese government, the Magyars assured their permanent hegemony in Hungary: this not only because of the intrinsic importance of the Lowlands, but also because of the change already begun, through which the balance of power, economic and political, was to be shifted from the northwestern counties—the seats of the magnates and the Slovaks—to the fertile regions of the Danube and Theiss.

It is the second problem, however, which most attracts the author's attention, and here we come upon the most slippery ground in modern Hungarian history. Professor Marczali exposes in an infinite variety of forms the antagonism between the still essentially medieval Hungarian society and the modern state, represented by the "enlightened", absolutistic, and centralizing government at Vienna. The tragedy of the position of Hungary in the eighteenth century was that the nation had to choose between maintaining its anachronistic form of political and social organization, and accepting the benefits of modern progress at the hands of a foreign government, at the cost of the national independence. Only the nineteenth century, with its liberal, democratic, and nationalistic ideas, could furnish an escape from this *impasse*. With this general conception of the problem we are not disposed to quarrel, but there are certain features of the author's characterization of the situation that seem open to objection. In spite of an obvious desire to be fair, he has not succeeded, in the opinion of the reviewer, in rendering full justice to the government; he has not brought out the fact that practically all that was consciously done to increase the material well-being of the country in this period emanated from Vienna, and was carried out in spite of the indifference or the opposition of "the ruling nation". One hesitates, too, to accept Professor Marczali's very favorable view of the patriotism, high character, and exceptional services of the nobility, for after all there is abundant evidence to show that the members of this caste usually pursued a thoroughly selfish conduct and continually sacrificed the interests of the other classes of the nation and even large parts of the vaunted constitution itself on the altar of their own petty class-interests. Almost the only thing that could arouse these torpid and narrow-minded county-politicians was an attack on their privileges, and especially on their sacred immunity from taxation. The present reviewer is quite unable to follow the author's reasoning that the abolition of this latter exemption "would have involved the renun-

ciation of the separate existence of the country as a sovereign State" (p. 355). There are other objections that might be raised here and there, there are lacunae in more than one of Professor Marczali's arguments, but lack of space forbids adducing them here.

The great merit of the book lies in the wealth of new facts brought to light, especially in the chapters on economic and social conditions, and in the well-rounded description of a fairly typical medieval society lingering on into an age when, with the aid of the reports of an industrious bureaucracy, it could almost be photographed. Really charming are the pictures drawn of the old-fashioned country gentry and their activities in the county courts and "congregations", of the folk-lore and superstitions of the peasants, of life in the Calvinist colleges, etc. It is to be hoped that we may some day receive a translation of the remainder of this work, in which the author describes the conflict of this ancient society with Joseph II.

ROBERT H. LORD.

Johann Gustav Droysen. Erster Teil: bis zum Beginn der Frankfurter Tätigkeit. Von G. DROYSEN. (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Tuebner. 1910. Pp. vi, 372.)

PROFESSOR J. G. DROYSEN, historian of Hellenism and of Prussian politics, translator of Aeschylus and Aristophanes, political leader in the national rising of 1848—a man of such wide-ranging activity affords a worthy subject-matter of biographical study; in exploring his life, we are carried into the midst of the life of his times and his nation, and at the same time he has the interest of a type and of a strongly individual character. Droysen has found a devoted biographer in his own son, the late Professor Gustav Droysen, himself an historian of honorable standing, who, however, was not allowed to finish his work, the first volume of which has now been edited after his death by Professor Rudolf Hübner. This biography throughout has the happy impress of that loving carefulness that rather strives to understand and explain than to judge the motive forces of a varied career like that of Droysen; and out of the abundance of details from family tradition and from personal letters as well as out of the psychological study of scientific work and political action, we see rising before us the vivid picture of a *man*, passionate and stubborn, artist and fighter, with his powers always strained to the utmost, whether for searching into historical documents or for shaping patriotic ideas.

In this book, Droysen appears as the true Prussian, unswerving in the great aims of life from his earliest youth, working hard to reach them, inwardly earnest, almost austere even in the midst of genial enjoyment, always maintaining his individuality unerased, yet—and that is what makes the attractiveness of the book—incessantly advancing into new fields of ideas, quickly extending his abilities and developing his mind. Although he comparatively early emancipated himself from the

deductions of Hegelian philosophy, he had learned from Hegel to find universal ideas of progress incorporated in the great men of history; he himself was the incorporation of such an idea, the German or rather Prussian state idea. In studying his life and work, we are satisfied that he, perhaps more than any other German man of letters, prepared the ground for Bismarck. He stood for liberal reforms, but he was not a liberal doctrinaire; on the contrary, Hegel and history had taught him that politics were a question of power, not one of right, and he made himself the champion of *Realpolitik*.

As an historian and a philologist also, he looked out not for erudition, but for real life. He was in the front rank of the men who conquered the classical studies for the science of human evolution; in his translations of Aeschylus (1832) and Aristophanes (1835-1838) he consciously strove to resuscitate the olden poetry into modern life, and in his history of Hellenism (1833-1843) he was able to establish a new estimate of old value; he first of all saw the historical right of Alexander as against Demosthenes, of national Macedonia as against disintegrated Greece, and he it was who stamped the idea of Hellenistic culture as marking the epoch of transition to modern history. Just because of this tendency to historical realism, he ever more strongly felt compelled to leave the classics. "I really was a fool", he wrote in 1841 (p. 208), "who went into the silly fragmental antiquity instead of enjoying the rich and stirred-up atmosphere of nearer times." This feeling especially grew strong with him, since he had gone as professor of history to Kiel in 1840; there he was put on the frontier guard of German nationality, and he instantly comprehended the great possibilities and duties of his new university. "We are too sluggish, too haughty, too abstract", he wrote in 1845 to another professor (p. 284), "instead of filling sausages, which is now our essential merit as regards the students, we ought to kindle fires on the mountain-tops of science for the guidance of the wayfaring folk in the dark valleys." Therefore, he soon began courses of modern history, he exerted himself hard to rally the most prominent German historians about a great co-operative work on German history after 1815 (see his interesting letters to Dahlmann, pp. 288-292), and he published (1846) his lectures upon the Wars of Liberty, which, in a sympathetic, positive way, related the rise, the struggles, and the preliminary defeat of the spirit of liberty from 1776 until 1815. His literary and university work at Kiel during the forties aimed all of it not only at searching into history, but still more at creating history, and he naturally became a leader in the national movement in Holstein which resulted in the rebellion of 1848.

The new biography does not bring any unknown details about his political activity in this rising, and the intricate political questions concerning Holstein and Schleswig are treated from the traditional German point of view. But, in a very concrete way, we are made acquainted with the feelings reigning at that outpost of national struggle, the Uni-

versity of Kiel. Generally speaking, that is one of the strong points of this book, the depicting of the *milieu*; very distinctly, we discern the effects of war on the home of a plain citizen in the Napoleonic times; we are introduced into the hard conditions of a poor student and an almost equally poor "professor extraordinary" in absolutistic Berlin. And through it all, we are allowed to follow the development of a highly remarkable genius into the full ripeness of manhood.

The first volume of the Droysen biography does not carry his life farther than the spring of 1848; the editor promises a second volume, mostly containing letters and notes from Droysen's parliamentary activity at Frankfort and his later university work, and certainly we are justified in looking forward to an interesting collection of papers from a man who was wont to indulge in as full and unrestrained speaking in his letters as Droysen appears to do in the quotations of this first volume.

HALVDAN KOHT.

Bismarck: Eine Biographie. Von ERICH MARCKS. Erster Band. *Bismarck's Jugend, 1815-1848.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta. 1909. Pp. xvi, 476.)

If Marcks's coming volumes were to deal with Bismarck's career after 1848 as this volume deals with his earlier years; if the letters of the statesman were to be utilized as conscientiously as is the scanty correspondence of the law student, the government employee, the country gentleman; if the despatches of the Prussian ambassador at Frankfort were to be examined and discussed as thoroughly as are the reports of the referendary at Aix and at Potsdam, the squire of Kniephof's article in defense of the Pomeranian hunt, and his correspondence with his fellow squires and with the authorities at Berlin concerning the patrimonial jurisdiction; if, finally, the parliamentary speeches of the Prussian prime minister and of the German chancellor were to be analyzed as minutely as are the speeches of the Schönhausen deputy in the United Diet of 1847—it is difficult to conjecture how much shelf-room the completed work, if ever it were completed, would demand. In his preface, however, the author reassures us. His book is to be a biography, not a history. In this first volume the personal element naturally preponderates: in it must be laid the foundations of Bismarck's whole career, of his personal and political existence to its close. Much that would be unimportant in his later life is important in these beginnings.

In the dearth of authentic information, this period of Bismarck's life has been reconstructed by previous biographers on the basis, largely, of reminiscences of friends and acquaintances and of anecdotes of uncertain origin—reminiscences that have probably been reconstructed, anecdotes that in many cases have become legends. Marcks has made a serious effort to eliminate exaggerations, to sweep away the purely legendary material and to find the facts. In this effort he had, for three

years and a half, the "most active support" of Prince Herbert Bismarck, who not only placed at his disposal the family papers at Friedrichsruh and at Schönhausen but helped him to obtain access to other collections. Information and assistance were received also from Bismarck's sister, Malvina von Arnim; from his son-in-law and his daughter, the Count and Countess Rantzau; from his daughter-in-law, the widow of Count William; and from other branches of the family.

Among the matters on which Marcks's book gives us new or fuller information is Bismarck's religious development. In his youth and early manhood he was a rationalistic deist. When he settled down to the life of a country squire, in 1839, he was brought into close association with very religious people of the Pietist type. Bismarck, however, was less influenced than most men by his personal environment; and it was not until 1843 that his attitude toward religious questions began to change. In 1846 he accepted a form of Christian theism which he and his friends were able to regard as orthodox. The immediate cause seems to have been the sudden death of Marie von Blankenburg. She and her husband were among Bismarck's most intimate friends, and both had made earnest and persistent efforts to convert him to their faith.

During the same year he had fallen in love with his future wife, Johanna von Puttkammer. Her family also was Pietist. His betrothal followed close upon his conversion. How far his desire to win the favor of Johanna's parents and—given the close connection in Prussia between Protestant orthodoxy and Conservative politics—how far the impulse to participate in public life may have contributed, if only subconsciously, to induce the will to believe, are questions that have been raised and which every writer answers according to his view of Bismarck's character. Marcks thinks, and gives reasons for thinking, that Bismarck's conversion was disinterested as well as sincere. He is able to show that Bismarck never found satisfaction in his earlier views; and he finds it hard to believe that a man of Bismarck's type could ever have contented himself "with anything less elemental than the personal God" (p. 26).

Johanna von Puttkammer was not Bismarck's first love. In 1839 he was engaged, for a short time, to an English girl (p. 46). In 1841 he was in love with Ottilie von Puttkammer, and she with him. Ottilie's mother, however, did not approve of "the mad Bismarck", and Ottilie herself was not steadfast (pp. 188-190). Five years later Johanna's parents—Puttkammers of another branch—received Bismarck's application for their daughter's hand with evident consternation; and when, after correspondence, the suitor was allowed to present himself, there was every prospect, in his opinion, of protracted negotiations. He opened the visit, however, by kissing Johanna, and in five minutes everything was settled. "That was Bismarck!", the author comments, "from the chiaroscuro of long preparation the conclusive deed flashes out with a gleam as of steel" (p. 349).

Marcks shows clearly that Bismarck's entry into public life was no accident: he was always on the lookout for a political opportunity. In 1839 he had left the Prussian administrative service, finding it intolerable; but, because it seemed the only road to power, he re-entered it in 1844 and was referendary again for four months. In Pomerania, and afterwards in the province of Saxony, he neglected no legitimate means to obtain seat and voice in the provincial diet. His first office, that of captain of dikes, did not come to him without effort on his part: he secured the discharge of his predecessor for neglect of duty (p. 295). The summoning of the United Diet in 1847 and a vacancy in the Saxon *Ritterschaft* were occasions for which he was ready; if the opportunity had not come then it would have come later, and he would have seized it with equal promptness.

Every reader of Marcks's *Kaiser Wilhelm* has been awaiting his *Bismarck* with the highest anticipations; and, in substance, these are realized. In this volume there is the same control of the material, the same judgment in its use, the same skill in its presentation. In one respect, however, the reviewer confesses disappointment: this volume is less readable. The truth is that Marcks is so conscious of the richness of the Bismarck literature and so familiar with the earlier biographies that he frequently hesitates to retell the tale, simply and directly, and substitutes allusion. This is, from every point of view, a mistake. Even the German "cultured public" does not remember everything which the specialist thinks it must remember, nor does it strongly object to be reminded of what it knows. And neither the German reader nor any other reader likes the allusional style. The effort to remember is disturbing; failure to remember is annoying; perception that you never knew what the author assumes that you know is humiliating. Any book so written lacks something of being a great book; for a great book is not a supplement—it sums up and stands alone.

MUNROE SMITH.

Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862. Publiée avec des Annotations et un Index Biographique par la Princesse RADZIWILL née Castellane. Volume IV., 1851-1862. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1910. Pp. 534.)

THIS volume brings to a close a Chronicle remarkable for several elements. It may be regarded primarily as the disclosures of a personality of singular force and charm, or as a collection of illuminating impressions of men, women, and events of the second thirty years of the nineteenth century. Since most of the entries—all in the later volumes—are taken from the author's letters to M. de Bacourt, the Chronicle has the character of an intimate *causerie* of a brilliant woman. The impressions have a sharpness of outline rarely possessed by recollections arranged late in life for a volume of memoirs. They have an

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interest for history, because the Duchesse de Dino had unusual means of obtaining correct information, through her connections at court in Berlin, through her correspondents in Paris and Vienna, and through friends even at the court of the exiles at Frohsdorf. In her thoughts one discerns the currents of sentiment moving the ruling personages of Europe fifty or sixty years ago. There is also an astonishing number of references to persons: between three and four thousand mentioned, and nearly three hundred referred to more than five times.

In this volume the prejudices of her caste are somewhat more evident than they were in the earlier volumes. She shared the uneasiness felt by the older aristocracy at the rising tide of democracy. The *rouges* were much in her thoughts after the events of 1848, and in connection with the revolutionary movements in Italy in 1859 and 1860. She detested Lord Palmerston as a dangerous encourager of such revolutionaries, and Lord John Russell, whom in 1834 in London she described as "le plus doux, le plus spirituel, le plus honorable, le plus aimable des Jacobins", she referred to twenty-five years later as "ce vilain *petit radical*". It is because of her fear of radicalism that she readily condoned the *coup d'état* of 1851. She wrote, December 11, "Il ne s'agit ni de l'exalter, ni de le stigmatiser pour le moment. Il s'agit d'en observer les conséquences, et, si elles tournent à l'ordre, à la conservation, si l'anarchie est terrassée, si les *intérêts matériels* de la société sont sauvés, il faudra bien chanter le *Te Deum*." As late as 1856 she finds that at Vienna the Emperor Napoleon is quite *à la mode*. He is, she writes, "plus puissant dans l'opinion que ne l'était son oncle, parce qu'on n'était soumis à celui-ci que par la peur qu'il faisait, et qu'on se confie en son neveu par la peur qu'on a des autres". "Il semble à tous un bonheur, une égide. Le prince de Metternich en parle ainsi, et les plus grandes dames en disent autant." It is probable that Metternich was disillusioned before he died in June, 1859. Certainly the confidence of the Duchesse de Dino was shaken by the events of the Italian movement.

The entries in this volume begin with 1851 and close in May, 1862. The author died the following September. Concerning political events her most instructive comments touch the efforts to unite the two branches of the Bourbon family, the vicissitudes of diplomatic negotiation during the Crimean period, and the events in Italy after the outbreak of war in 1859. She looked at the struggle in Italy from the point of view of a German duchess, rather than from that of a woman long resident in France, and was particularly interested in the attitude which the Prussian government took towards the attack on Austria. She followed with deep concern the decline in Frederick William's health, and pitied the prince regent because of the delicate position in which he was placed by his brother's condition, but she did not see very far into Prince William's character, and even remarked, "il est faible, ce bon prince." It was four days after she died that Bismarck was made president of

the council and the country had an opportunity to learn the stuff of which the king was made. Her only reference to Bismarck is exact enough. In 1855 there was a rumor that he was to become minister of foreign affairs, and she remarks, "Si ce bruit se vérifiait, la guerre entre l'Autriche et la Prusse, déjà probable, deviendrait certaine; car M. de Bismarck déteste l'Autriche, autant que moi je déteste les chats."

As in the earlier volumes, the Duchesse de Dino reveals a peculiar power of delineating personages with a few quick strokes. Here it is oftenest when she learns of their deaths, for she had reached the age when each year brought its losses, friends, acquaintances, persons in whom she was interested—the Duchesse d'Angoulême, Wellington, Salvandy, Metternich, the Duchesse d'Orléans. Of the daughter of Louis XVI., who died October 19, 1851, she wrote, "Les grandes infortunes, toujours portées avec la plus noble et la plus simple dignité, lui assignent une place tout à part dans notre déplorable histoire contemporaine. Il ne lui a manqué qu'un peu de charme et de grace, pour la mettre au-dessus des plus grandes victimes de tous les siècles." In recording Salvandy's death she sadly but finely remarks, "Quand on voit disparaître les êtres qui se trouvaient mêlés aux souvenirs de notre existence, tout un monde de choses se réveille et se dresse devant nous. . . . En voyant nos contemporains les témoins de notre jeunesse disparaître, on se rappelle telle circonstance, telle soirée, pleines d'émotions vives, où ils étaient spectateurs; puis tout s'engloutit dans un tombeau ouvert avant le nôtre."

After reading these four volumes it is easy to subscribe to the sentiments her granddaughter, their editor, expressed in the preface to the first: "Ses traits, comme ses dons, furent rarement égalés, mais ce qui est moins connu, c'est la séduction morale qu'elle exerçait sur tous ceux qui l'approchaient."

HENRY E. BOURNE.

A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, M.P., O.M., LL.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Member of the French Institute and of the British Academy. By his Wife. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xvii, 420.)

For the wife of an eminent man to write a biography of her husband within the compass of four hundred and twenty small pages is an event of sufficient rarity to call for special commendation; while the freedom of the pages from flattery, hero-worship, and personal and irrelevant digression is so unusual as to arouse in the reader great respect for the taste and judgment of the author. Mrs. Lecky has everywhere shown admirable self-restraint in the treatment of her subject and though in Irish politics she does, perhaps, less than justice to the cause of the Home Rulers whom her husband opposed and in her extracts from correspondents' letters sometimes selects only such portions as put her

husband's views in the most favorable light, she has caught in the main the spirit of justice and truth that always characterizes Lecky's writings. Her work is manifestly designed for the reader who wishes to know something of the source of Lecky's intellectual powers, of the circumstances under which his books were written, and of the chief incidents of his membership in Parliament.

Lecky very early developed the mental qualities that characterized his entire career. Before he was twenty he was devouring history, writing poetry, and disclosing a passion for oratory. Possessed of remarkable independence of mind, he early inclined to theological and philosophical subjects, with a special fondness for the history of opinions and principles, and at the age of twenty-two wrote his first book on *The Religious Tendencies of the Age*. He hated law and had little zeal for political economy. At first he thought of a theological career, but soon historical investigation called him and he began at twenty-four his study of the rise and fall of speculative opinions, which he published as the *History of Rationalism* three years later. His *History of European Morals* appeared when he was but thirty-one, and both works attained success and exercised influence, not only because of their intrinsic merits as history but also because they represented the application of the historical method to the study of opinions and morals and combated the teachings of Bentham and the Utilitarians, and of Carlyle, Buckle, and other historians of that day. Lecky's influence upon the writing of history and his position among the forerunners of the modern school of historians has been somewhat lost sight of because of the subjects with which he dealt. His views as here expounded on pages 69, 122, and 150 show how thoroughly he represented, before 1870, the essential principles of the best historians of the present time. He viewed history as a great organic whole, and historical conditions as a growth; he took immense pains to disentangle the truth; and he had a high ideal of literary workmanship. He was exceedingly careful in reading his proof-sheets, and constantly revised his works as new editions were called for.

Lecky's turning from the history of morals to the history of England and Ireland in the eighteenth century was no sudden whim. He was an Irish landlord, tremendously interested in the literature and politics of Ireland, and had published anonymously in 1861, when but twenty-three, his *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*. During the first reform ministry of Gladstone, 1870-1874, he was active in expressing his opinions on Irish affairs and issued a new edition of his *Leaders*. His review in 1874 of Froude's *English in Ireland* showed that he was already deeply versed in Irish history, and from this time to his death he made Irish affairs his major interest in life. The volumes of his history appeared between 1878 and 1900, and we have in this biography an admirable exposition of his methods of work. In his treatment of his theme Lecky of the English History is still the Lecky of the Ration-

alism and the Morals, interested not in politics, but in philosophy, religion, social movements, and opinions. Even in his later works, *Democracy and Liberty* and the *Map of Life*, Lecky is the thinker, the student of ideas, the searcher for tendencies and influences. In whatever he wrote he aimed to be a true and original interpreter.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Gates of India, being an Historical Narrative. By Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., D.Sc. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 553.)

THE work is a geographical study of the approaches to India in the light of the uses that have been made of them in the past and with a view to determining the uses to which they might be put in the future. After the introduction (pp. 1-10) two chapters (pp. 11-57) deal with the early relations between Greece, Persia, Assyria, and the Indian frontier; the third chapter (pp. 58-93) treats of the campaign of Alexander in Baktria. Next we find (pp. 94-134) a discussion of Alexander's movements from Kabul to the Indus; while the fifth chapter (pp. 135-168) describes the withdrawal of the Greek forces both by land and by sea from India. The gates of the Far North are studied (pp. 169-189) in connection with the visits of the Chinese pilgrims to India; and two chapters (pp. 190-324) are then devoted to the accounts of the Arab geographers of Seistan, Afghanistan, and Makran. The ninth chapter (pp. 325-343) opens the account of the modern explorations with the adventures of Christie and Pottinger. Masson's journeys are the subject of the next two chapters (pp. 344-410); and then follow accounts of Lord and Wood (pp. 411-441); of Moorcroft (pp. 442-450); of Burnes (pp. 451-461); of Vigne (pp. 462-469); of Broadfoot (pp. 470-475); and of Ferrier (pp. 476-499). The last chapter (pp. 500-529) summarizes the results attained.

In estimating the value of the work it must be remembered that it is addressed to the statesman and not to the historian, and from the point of view of the former it is deserving of high praise. Whether India is or is not open to invasion from the northwest and west is a problem of vital importance to England, and of the greatest interest to the entire world. It is a question too upon which English public opinion has wavered between the extremes of undue apprehension and an over-confident sense of security. The problem is a military geographical one, and to its solution the author has brought an unrivalled knowledge of this part of Asia gained at first hand in the Afghan War and as a member of the Russo-Afghan and Perso-Baluch boundary commissions. He has also gained the credit of propounding an answer that may be accepted without hesitation, *viz.*: that it is easily possible to advance a force to Kandahar from Herat or Mashad, but that, as long as England controls the sea, this is the only danger that need be seriously apprehended, and that it can be guarded against by due foresight and diligence.

For the historian the gains from the book are: first the excellent maps, second the considerable geographic information given in the text, and finally a valuable commentary on the works of the early explorers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. This part of the work is well done on the basis of a first-hand acquaintance with the writings of these travellers combined with the author's intimate knowledge of the country. To be sure there are omissions which are sometimes puzzling—for instance there is no mention of Elphinstone. One frequently wishes also that the work had been carried out with more system and detail, but the checking of a large part of it has brought to light only minor inaccuracies. Thus Masson's account (II. 276) of the tomb of Joseph Hicks, the first Englishman known to have reached Kabul, has been overlooked, although it is much fuller and presumably more accurate than Vigne's vague reference. I should also suggest that Ferrier after crossing the Hari Rud west of Daolat Yar must have struck into a road approximately the same as the Arab trade-route along the Farah Rud. This accounts for his not passing through Taiwara, which he mentions but did not visit, and reduces the length of his surprisingly rapid ride. But for the older periods of history the author was unable to go direct to the original sources, and possesses merely a fragmentary knowledge of the work that has been done upon them. These portions of his work can be recommended only to those who are competent to check them.

There remains the unpleasant duty of calling attention to the shocking inaccuracy of the spelling of proper names.

G. M. BOLLING.

Le Japon: Histoire et Civilisation. Par le Marquis DE LA MAZELIÈRE. Tome IV. *Le Japon Moderne: La Révolution et la Restauration (1854-1868)*; Tome V. *Le Japon Moderne: La Transformation du Japon (1869-1910)*. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1910. Pp. ccxlii, 373; 469.)

In these two volumes is again manifest the author's great love of details combined with his power of generalization and fair reasoning. If in the three preceding volumes of this work (noted in this REVIEW, XIII. 837) he had perforce to rely sometimes on inferences drawn from insufficient data at his disposal, he has, in the preparation of the present volumes, especially volume V., had the advantage of possessing comparatively more recent and abundant sources of information and the service of a few Japanese scholars to revise some of his chapters. The result is an even more lucid and comprehensive summary than was presented by the earlier volumes, of most of the information that can be gathered from other works in European languages on those phases of modern Japanese history that are here treated.

The marquis has again a long introduction, over 240 pages, to volume IV., devoted to the comparison of Asiatic and European civilizations since the sixteenth century, their similarity and difference, and

their contact and the influence of the latter upon the former. It is as difficult to summarize the author's generalizations on these grand subjects as it is beyond my power to comment on their value. They, however, constitute the foundation of his general scheme of Japanese history and should therefore be epitomized in their very broadest conclusions. According to the author, the two civilizations have, since the simultaneous establishment of "absolute monarchies" after "feudal" ages in both Asia and Europe, been essentially the same in the process of their evolution. The difference that has developed between them in the last three centuries is not of kind, but of degree; continental Asia has been more exposed than northwestern Europe to racial migrations and invasions, against which the Asiatic countries have defended themselves with the "passive traditionalism" of their rigid civilization, and which have also resulted in a great diversity of culture among and even within these countries. In Japan the marquis finds a great exception to this general movement: she alone in Asia has been protected from invasions and has alone developed a homogeneous race and culture, so that, despite the fact that she was the least in touch with Europe during the three hundred years, her civilization was the nearest akin to the European. She also felt earlier than any other Asiatic nation, the author goes on to say, the need of thoroughly reorganizing her institutions under European influence, and, by so doing, became one of the strongest nations of the world and triumphed over a great military power of Europe. This victory is now rousing all Asia in a similar but greater awakening of nationalistic and reformatory movements.

On these broad conceptions is based the arrangement of material in these and subsequent volumes of Marquis de la Mazelière's history of modern Japan. Volume IV. takes up the decline and fall of the feudal government, occasioned by the coming of foreigners, and the restoration of the imperial government; volume V. treats of the destructive and reconstructive work of the new government. Two more volumes are promised, volume VI. to discuss the further process of national transformation, and volume VII. to be devoted to the rise of Japan's position in regard to the rest of Asia.

The body of volume IV. opens with a fair analytical view of the material causes of the revolution and the ideas which inspired it. As one of the economic causes, the author asserts, with rather scant demonstration, that under the Tokugawa régime Japan's population had increased beyond her means of support. Then follows a description of the general decadence of the régime before the coming of Perry. The latter's mission is narrated in a rather cursory manner, but is followed by a good account of the stirring events that quickly succeeded one another till the final downfall of the Tokugawa government and the restoration of the imperial rule. A serious objection must be raised to the use of the pernicious term "clan", in which the author unfortu-

nately joins all other native and foreign writers in English, to denote the territorial unit (*han*) of Japanese feudal administration. There is not a single important feature of the *han* that justifies its being designated a "clan".

The destructive work of the revolution (volume V., part 1.) is made by the author to cover the forty years from 1850 to 1890, and is explained in the light of a great underlying idea (see p. 173). The central features of this work—the reform of the land law, the abolition of feudal pensions, and the consequent personal differences and civil strifes—are treated in detail and in a highly suggestive manner, supported by such statistical data as one would need to know. This part seems the most original and brilliant in the volume, as well as the most open to criticism. The rest of the volume is occupied with the reconstruction of the Japanese institutions of the state, and of religion, society, and family. The treatment is somewhat conventional, but admirably rich, accurate, and useful. Once, however, in connection with the new army, the discussion betrays a touch of feeling; the spirit of the army embodies the old *bushido* and the reformed cult of loyalty to the emperor, and in its cohesion and moral force is seen the culmination and synthesis of all that is best in "the moral evolution of Japan and even of Asia" (p. 334).

K. ASAKAWA.

A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854). By S. WELLS WILLIAMS. Edited by F. W. WILLIAMS. [Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. XXXVII., part 2.] (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh. 1910. Pp. ix, 259.)

WILLIAMS had lived in the Orient for nearly twenty years and had acquired some knowledge of the Japanese language in addition to his familiarity with Chinese, when in 1853 he was persuaded by Commodore M. C. Perry to serve as the chief interpreter in his important mission to Japan. The great usefulness of Williams's service is, in spite of his modesty, well reflected in his highly interesting *Journal*, now edited for the first time by his son, Professor Williams of Yale, with an introduction and notes. Being the only American in the expedition possessing any first-hand acquaintance with the extreme Orient, the author throughout found himself playing the rôle of the moderator between the diffident Japanese and the exacting soldier-diplomat. Williams also took an invaluable part in the making of the first international treaty of modern Japan, in which the historic mission culminated, for, the editor says, it was due to the author's suggestion that the extra-territoriality clause was struck out from the original draft of the treaty and the most favored nation clause inserted in its final text.

Apart from the question of the author's place in the mission, his *Journal* affords some data confirming as well as supplementing the information that may be culled from other sources relating to the begin-

ning of Japan's international career. (Among these sources are, on the American side, the *Reports of Perry's Expedition to Japan*, the *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, and several articles published since by surviving members of the expedition; and on the Japanese side, the *Kai-koku Ki-gen*, I., and the *Baku-matsu Gwai-koku Kwan-kei Mon-zho*, I., soon to be published). In this *Journal* the memorable incidents of the expedition and the masterful manners of Perry are vividly narrated and freely and frankly commented upon. Even more important would seem the suggestions to which the work, either by omission or through data unconsciously supplied for inference, gives rise in the mind of one who studies with care the complex and still very obscure historical process of the period, in which both Perry and Williams were to a large extent blind actors. If one compares Perry's probable original expectations with his final results, a marked difference between them will be noted. For example, Perry was encouraged by the progress of the negotiations within the three weeks after Captain Adams's conference with the Japanese commissioners at Uraga on February 22, 1854, to demand more favorable terms than he had intended to ask, and was later enabled to secure some of them. On the other hand, he never got a permission for American merchants to trade in Japanese ports, and never realized his desire to visit the capital, to see the "Emperor" (really, the Shogun), or to receive a reply from him to the personal letter President Fillmore had addressed to him, or even to deal with officials equal in rank to himself; Perry was in fact addressed by the Japanese commissioners in inferior terms and even failed to secure their signatures and seals on the treaty in the usual fashion. What made him in the former instance to advance beyond, and in the latter to recede from, his first intentions? On these points Williams's *Journal* does, it would seem—provided it is studied in the light of other sources, especially Japanese—throw some light. These points are merely mentioned here in this brief notice, for a complete solution of these and other problems of the Perry mission is still to come. For such a solution, the present *Journal* must be considered as one of the most important primary sources on the American side.

K. ASAKAWA.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Edited by JOHN R. COMMONS, ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, EUGENE A. GILMORE, HELEN L. SUMNER, and JOHN B. ANDREWS. Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. With preface by RICHARD T. ELY and introduction by JOHN B. CLARK. Volumes I. and II. *Plantation and*

Frontier. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1910. Pp. 375; 379.)

THE appearance of this series of volumes is an event of first importance to students of American history and economics. The first volume is opened with a brief sketch by Dr. Ely of the genesis and history of this undertaking of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, the methods employed, and the difficulties encountered. This is followed by a general introduction to the series, by Professor Clark. Each is a valuable aid to a clear comprehension of the purposes and scope of the work now nearing completion.

It is entirely natural that the true inwardness of the history of a section and an institution which have been the storm centre of as bitter controversy as has been waged about the South and slavery, should be difficult to learn. Probably this very fact has helped to render Southern history one of the most attractive fields of present-day exploration. The chief aspects of Southern history which have been thus far developed have been politics and war. The only exceptions which come readily to mind are the works of Mr. Bruce and one or two others. And this notwithstanding the fact that the institution which was the provoking centre of both politics and war was, fundamentally, wholly industrial in character. Having in mind the increasing interest in that phase of Southern history which had to do with the economic side of Southern life, it seems to the writer of this note peculiarly fortunate that this history of American industrial society should begin with the most neglected phase of that history—the industrial organization of the Southern States. American students are doubly fortunate that this part of the undertaking was entrusted to Dr. Phillips.

In an introduction of some thirty pages Dr. Phillips gives an illuminating sketch of the course of economic development in the ante-bellum South which serves as a general interpretation of the documentary extracts which follow. The documents and extracts themselves afford the best insight into the general industrial life of the South as a whole which has thus far been attempted. The editor's own classification of his material (I. 98-102) suggests the breadth and scope of the field which he has included. The period covered is from 1649 to 1863, and the subjects illustrated by the documents are plantation management, plantation routine, plantation descriptions, the place of staple crops in the Southern agricultural system, plantation supplies and factorage, plantation vicissitudes, overseers, indented labor, slave labor, slave-trade, fugitive and stolen slaves, slave conspiracies and crime, negro qualities, free negroes, "poor whites", immigrants, migration, frontier settlement, frontier industry, frontier society, manufacturing, public regulation of industry, artisans, and town labor.

The material in these volumes has been drawn from four principal sources—books, pamphlets and similar ephemeral literature, newspapers, and manuscript records, public and private. The work of selection has

been admirably done. The editor has refrained from running comment on the matter which he has extracted, and, save in his introduction, he has attempted no interpretation of his material. In this course he has probably been bound by the general plan of the series. In any event, those more familiar with Southern history than the average student of these volumes is likely to be, might well wish, for the benefit of the latter, that a more extended discussion of the varying value and significance of the documents had been undertaken. Such an interpretation is no proper part of this review, but it may not be out of place to say that for those who know the South of the present as well as the South of the past this collection excellently illustrates the economic inertia of the plantation system of staple agriculture. The embarrassments of debt, the struggle to meet heavy interest rates, the careless and disastrous uses of credit, the effects of the factorage system, the never-ending complaints of inefficient overseers, the ascribing of all sorts of crop failures to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and also the never-failing hope in the panacea of every Southern planter, a conjunction of good crops and high prices—these are all faithfully portrayed by Dr. Phillips. They are also all features and incidents of the plantation system of to-day, differing in degree of intensity only with differences of local conditions, just as they differed locally in 1770, or 1800, or 1860.

Many of these documents are full of suggestive value, especially to those whose historical rearing, in so far as Southern history is concerned, has been upon the traditional diet of Cairnes, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *A Cloud of Witnesses*. And equally should they serve as a corrective to much of the "traditional history" of the South, which has made every owner of a few negroes "a large slaveholder" and every ante-bellum grower of cotton a "wealthy planter", and which is responsible for a superlative degree of ignorance of the fundamental unsoundness of the slave-labor system as a foundation for enduring prosperity. Students on both sides of the line should be grateful for the service which Dr. Phillips has rendered the cause of historical truth.

ALFRED HOLT STONE.

The Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: an Inquiry into the Religious, Moral, Educational, Legal, Military, and Political Condition of the People, based on Original and Contemporaneous Records. In two volumes. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1910. Pp. xiii, 707; vi, 697.)

PROBABLY during the last fifteen years no other state of the Union has received such an illumination of its formative period as Virginia. As this colony had a close connection with the British government, the archives of England have been particularly rich in materials for the historian, which in recent years have been made available by the print-

ing-press and the liberal opportunities afforded to investigators in the parent-country. At home a vast fund of information hidden in the recesses of the county and public records awaited the patient delver after facts. Much of this interesting matter has at length found discriminating expression in the noble works of Alexander Brown, Philip Alexander Bruce, and William G. Stanard. The result of the flood of enlightenment created by these writers has been to show how erroneous along many lines were the currently received ideas. At any rate, it can no longer be said that while Virginians have been prominent in making history they have failed in producing men fitted to report it.

We may now congratulate ourselves that in the place of the superficial and shallow conclusions often written and published as Virginia history we can now rely upon a foundation of fact which will endure. Having in his *Economic and Social Histories of Virginia*—the first published in 1896 and the other in 1907—described two sides of Virginia life in the seventeenth century, Dr. Bruce completes in the present work his picture of Virginia previous to 1700 by an *Institutional History* of the same period. The two handsomely bound volumes now before me afford remarkable evidence of hard work and erudition, which entitle the author to no small measure of praise as a scholar and a thinker. The treasures of the Virginia records, and of the manuscripts in the British Record Office and in the libraries at Fulham and Lambeth palaces in England, are spread out in lavish but discriminating profusion. In his first volume Dr. Bruce treats with much detail of the moral and religious, the educational, and legal institutions of the colony, and in his second volume, which includes a valuable index, he tells us of its military system and political administration.

Contrary to the view formerly quite generally entertained that the Virginia colonists were a reckless, rollicking sort of people, averse to labor and fond of every kind of dissipation, Dr. Bruce shows from the records that a deep religious spirit was universally present from the foundation of the colony. Indeed there was a Puritan severity about the laws and in the legal administration which could not have been present unless they had their origin in the conceptions of a really religious community. Fortunately there was a conspicuous lack of that bigotry and ferocity which was often the distinguishing feature among religious communities elsewhere. The Virginians believed in many of the superstitions of the period—in portents and witchcraft—and persecuted the Quakers, but they refrained from the death punishment, and their persecution was intermittent and not continuous. For years at a time the Quakers would hardly be noticed in the records, when some sudden excitement might start again the engines of persecution. The information that Dr. Bruce gives us about the Presbyterians and the Catholics is all very interesting and curious.

The question of education receives much attention at the author's hands. The extent to which it prevailed will be surprising to students

who have been accustomed to the words of Sir William Berkeley in his oft-quoted reply in 1671 to the British Commissioners of Foreign Plantations. The amount of culture in the colony is investigated in the most painstaking manner and found to be quite on a par with the conditions prevalent in other parts of America. Certainly, as Dr. Bruce observes, the scattered planting of the colony was not as favorable to popular education as the compact settlement of New England, but this difference, which has been greatly emphasized in modern histories, was undoubtedly counterbalanced by the closer connection of Virginia with the better opportunities of the mother-country. New England, isolated in religion and thought, did not have the same advantages, for instance, as Virginia enjoyed in the constant succession of ministers, who often performed besides their clerical duties the important part of teaching a school for their parishioners. After the first supply of emigrants, New England had to depend for teachers and preachers almost entirely upon the graduates of Harvard College, which during all of the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth was little more than a grammar school, receiving children at ten years of age and under and graduating them at fourteen or fifteen. The ministers of Virginia, on the other hand, continued like the early ministers of New England to be trained men from Oxford and Cambridge. That the Virginians were not devoid of culture is shown, moreover, by the surprising extent to which books were possessed in the colony. There were many private libraries and private schools and Dr. Bruce quotes the historian, Robert Beverley, to show that Sir William Berkeley's denial of free schools in Virginia was in direct contradiction of the fact. Among the names of various founders of such educational benefactions he considers that Benjamin Simms, as the founder of the first free school in America, has a distinct claim upon the gratitude of Americans who cherish justice and right.

Not only do the records as quoted by Dr. Bruce show the existence of free schools and private schools, but tutors and schoolmasters are frequently mentioned. Even a kind of compulsory education was known; for it was the duty of the vestries and county courts to see that orphans and poor children were properly cared for and educated in reading and writing. It is probable that the largest library on the continent during this century was that of Richard Lee, of Westmoreland County, just as in the next century William Byrd had easily the best selected and most numerous collection.

Dr. Bruce has taken great pains to estimate the degree of illiteracy among the whole white population and the labor to do this has been immense. By what approaches an actual enumeration of the people he tells us that the extent of the general illiteracy was less than one-half; the average for the women being much higher than for the men—seventy-five per cent. for the women and about forty per cent. for the men.

Next to the educational, probably the political conditions of Virginia in this century are most interesting. Beginning with the charters Dr. Bruce examines in detail the powers of the governor, the council, and the elected body called the House of Burgesses. In the minute account which Dr. Bruce gives us we can clearly see how far an English government was from the autocratic idea of a French or Spanish one. The governor's power was limited by a council chosen from the first men of the colony, who had to be pleased and conciliated. Then there was the further restriction by a body of representatives from the people, who had control of the taxing power, and whose consent had to be obtained on any measure of importance. The development of republican feeling in Virginia is interestingly illustrated by the history of the relations of the council and burgesses as constituent members of the assembly.

Probably Dr. Bruce gives too much importance to the aristocratic side of Virginia society. While social distinctions were undoubtedly prevalent, the lack of any great order of nobles and the scattered mode of existence made it impossible to keep up the class system of the mother-country. The strongest evidence of this is shown in the increasing power of the House of Burgesses and the existence of universal suffrage, which practically continued in Virginia till 1736. For though in the latter part of the seventeenth century a freehold qualification was prescribed, the number of acres was not defined, and Spotswood tells us in 1713 that any one owning half an acre of land and just out of the condition of a servant "had an equal vote with a man of the best estate in the country". The evidence is overwhelming that Virginia society was founded on the mercantile population of England particularly. The founders of the more important families were nearly all tradesmen. When William Hatton, of York County, complained in 1662 that the county court was composed of "coopers, hog-trough makers, pedlars, cobblers, taylors and weavers, and not fitten to sit where they did sit", he uttered a partial truth. The records show that William Barber, one of the court, and a lieutenant-colonel, was, like John Endicott of New England, a cooper. Nevertheless, too much weight must not be laid on this either; for the pedigrees of England show that the proudest nobles were often descended from tradesmen, and it was the usual course of the younger sons of the English gentry to make their residence in the towns and enter the trades for a livelihood. It is also true that the incoming of so many officers of military character, after the beheading of Charles I., did give a tone to Virginia society probably not to be found elsewhere. When we hear of such men in the colony as the three brothers-in-law of Lord Falkland, the English Chevalier Bayard, and Guy Molesworth, who was colonel of a cavalier regiment and had received twenty-five wounds in battle for the king, we become convinced that society in Virginia must have felt an elevating influence, though not to the extent of suppressing to any considerable degree the current of the democratic life.

Dr. Bruce's treatment of Virginia conditions is luminous and so generally correct that it seems hypercritical to point out any defects. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of Virginia history wait for just such a treatment as the seventeenth century has received.

The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES of the same Society. Documents, volume I., part II. Nos. 141-224 (1605-1838). (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xi, 601-1222.)

THE first part of this volume was discussed in the REVIEW (XIII. 597) when it appeared, and, after an interval of two years, we now have the second part, as a further proof of the industry and learning of Father Hughes. The chief theme of the newly published volume is the action of the Jesuits in regard to their property, which lay in Maryland for the most part. We learn very little of their religious activities and even their educational work receives comparatively little attention. Georgetown College, it is true, is frequently mentioned, but chiefly in connection with its financial affairs or with appointments to its faculty of professors. In respect to time, this second part of the volume overlaps the first one and begins with the suppression of the order in 1773. Very few of the documents are later in date than 1830, though the last of all is one of 1894. During the period which the volume covers came the beginnings of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States and the restoration of the order. It has seemed to the writer that the character of that church in our country has owed much to the fact that its first leaders were Maryland Jesuits. In that province alone of the English speaking provinces were men of culture, of both Roman Catholic and Protestant faith, mingling in social intercourse; in that province alone were there strongly established families of Roman Catholic gentry; and that church in the province was so dominated by the Jesuits with their diplomatic skill that if a Maryland youth entered the priesthood he naturally became a Jesuit. The first bishop of that church was John Carroll, a member of one of the best known Maryland families, and a Jesuit up to the time of the suppression of the order. His successor, Leonard Neale, was also a descendant of one of the early and prominent provincial families, and other such families, for example the Fenwicks, were found represented in the order. Thus the American character of the Roman Catholic Church was stamped upon it from the first organization. In the days of the French Revolution, Sulpicians came from Paris to Baltimore and established there the first theological seminary for the priesthood in the United States. From among the French priests came Maréchal, who was the third to hold the see of Baltimore, and the French influence contributed, from an early day, to make the Roman Catholic Church in the country a cosmopolitan one. The Jes-

uits and the Sulpicians were far from always living together in harmony and the lack of unity of feeling between the two parties is as clearly shown in the later as in the earlier volume. The plan of arrangement of the documents is somewhat difficult to follow, the language of the editor's comments is at times obscure, more space is given to the printing of certain documents than they seem to deserve, there is some returning to matters discussed in the earlier volume, and as the documents have been published before the text of the history, it is sometimes difficult to determine what point is intended to be proven by them. Outside of Maryland and the adjoining parts of Pennsylvania, the volume treats of the establishment of the order in Missouri and, in an appendix, briefly cites analogous documents as to the treatment of the Jesuits' property in Great Britain and Ireland and in Canada, after the dissolution of the order. The man who figures most largely in this volume is the first Bishop of Baltimore. Though the work appears at times tediously long, yet one would dislike to lose the light it throws on his life. Father Hughes well says in his preface: "The founder of the American Catholic hierarchy is seen here under a varied light never before shed on the person, character, and work of Dr. John Carroll. As he writes and talks or is talked about, while he is commended or criticized, his character, vital and moving, stands out in relief with many traits of the substantial virtues which adorned it, and with some other shadows thrown upon it, as a necessary consequence of contact with other men in the fitful changes of negotiation and business." In that "formative period" the influence of so strong, wise, and broad-minded a man was of great value to his church. When the Baltimore Library Company was organized in 1796, among the leaders in the movement were John Carroll, the Roman Catholic bishop of Baltimore, Rev. Joseph G. J. Bend, rector of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, and Rev. Patrick Allison, minister of the First Presbyterian Church. This fact shows Carroll's position in the community better than paragraphs of explanation could do.

Other and lesser figures appear in an interesting light in this volume; such as Bishop Du Bourg, Fathers Charles and Francis Neale, and Archbishop Whitfield. The proceedings of the Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen, the details of the management of the plantations, and the reference to the slaves on these plantations afford much important material to the ecclesiastical and economic historian.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

The Livingstons of Livingston Manor: Being the History of that Branch of the Scottish House of Callendar which settled in the English Province of New York during the Reign of Charles the Second; and also including an Account of Robert Livingston of Albany, "The Nephew", a Settler in the same Province, and

his Principal Descendants. By EDWIN BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.
(Privately printed. 1910. Pp. xxxiii, 590.)

THE author of *The Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets* has devoted this portly volume of over six hundred pages to the offshoots of that noble Scottish house who sought their fortunes in colonial America. The story of the American Livingstons deserves this honorable distinction. During the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth no other New York family contributed so many leaders to the social, political, and professional life of the state and nation. For these heroic figures in the family history this book is written. It brings into high relief the lives and characters of Robert, "the Founder", Governor William Livingston of New Jersey and his brother Philip, the signer of the Declaration, Judge Robert R. Livingston of Clermont and his son, the famous chancellor, and Edward Livingston, the friend and adviser of Andrew Jackson.

The work is therefore by no means a genealogical chronicle, and while it is not a complete history of the Livingston family, it is on that account a more valuable contribution to local history, especially in the age of the Revolution. It is to be associated with J. H. Innes's *New Amsterdam and its People*, and with George W. Schuyler's *Colonial New York*, which is in reality a history of the Schuylers. But Mr. Livingston's book has a far wider range and outlook than the former volume and is much more coherent and complete than the latter. The volume is embellished with no fewer than thirty-three fine reproductions of family portraits, with pictures of the family homes and with facsimiles of important documents. Amid the wealth of illustrative material it seems almost ungracious to regret that the only map of Livingston Manor, opposite page III, is so small and incommensurate with the standard set elsewhere in the work.

In the family portrait gallery it is interesting to observe that the physical type of Robert, "the Founder", is reproduced in the features of his descendants, even unto the third and fourth generation. A nose, sharp, clean-cut, and huge, is the dominating feature of his face—a face which reveals all of the man, a shrewd, firm, persistent, "canny" Scot.

The author's studies of the Scottish Livingstons enable him to begin with a full and clear account of the origins of the immediate family of Robert Livingston, whose father, Rev. John Livingston, was a leader in the Kirk and died in exile in Holland in the days of the second Charles Stuart. Five chapters set forth the deeds of Robert and his own children, his alliance with the Schuylers and rapid rise to public importance, his dealings with Captain Kidd and with Jacob Leisler, to whom and to whose party Livingston was hostile, and his acquisition of a manor, south of Rensselaerwyck, comprising 160,240 acres and extending from the Hudson to the Massachusetts line with a twelve-mile front upon the river. Thirteen thousand acres of this manor were set apart as the

estate of Clermont for a younger son, Robert, whose birth was thus characteristically recorded in the Founder's diary: "On the 24th of July, being Tuesday at 5 o'clock in the afternoon my worthy spouse was delivered of my third son, Robert. May the Lord bless him that he may grow up in the Presbyterian religion!"

Livingstons of the Manor and Livingstons of Clermont were soon a numerous clan. Many of them became prominent upon the popular side in the contests between the Whig gentry and the Tory governors. As the Tories were known as the De Lancey party, so, after William Livingston became active as pamphleteer, lawyer, and party leader, his family name was affixed to the Whig party. Four chapters, the longest in the book, describe the honorable share of the family in the Revolutionary struggle, emphasizing particularly the services of William and his brother Philip, and of the two Judge Robert R. Livingstons of Clermont.

The triumph of the popular party was followed by the disappearance of Livingston Manor. The abolition of entail in New York after the Revolution led Robert, the third lord of the manor, to divide his estate among his eight surviving children. Possibly the old man opposed the patriotic sympathies of his eldest son, Colonel Peter R., or perhaps he disliked him for other reasons. The son had begun to build a new manor house, a palatial home. The basement and first story were complete when the division of the estate left Peter R. stranded and unable to continue his former style of living. So he clapped a roof down on the first story and left a magnificent colonial staircase leading to an attic. The author glides rather lightly over the infirmities of temper and pride of Chancellor Livingston which induced him to ally himself and his clan with Jefferson and Burr on a basis of spite and anger instead of political principle, but he does full justice to the chancellor's part in the Louisiana Purchase and in the construction of Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*.

The chapter devoted to the career of Edward Livingston is avowedly an abstract of Hunt's life of that statesman. Another chapter contains a gossipy account of Some Historical Livingston Mansions, especially William Livingston's Liberty Hall at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the chancellor's Clermont, and Oak Hill, which stands within the limits of the old manor. The present occupant of Oak Hill has made this book possible. The last chapter describes and explains the Livingston heraldry.

Thirteen appendixes are filled with genealogies. The list of authorities cited is sufficiently comprehensive and there are two good indexes, one for the Livingston names and another for all other allusions.

Colonial Mobile: an Historical Study, largely from Original Sources, of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin and the Old South West from the Discovery of the Spiritu Santo in 1519 until the Demolition of Fort Charlotte in 1821. By PETER J. HAMILTON, A.M. Re-

vised and enlarged edition. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1910. Pp. xxix, 594.)

THE new edition of Mr. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* adds a good deal of value to a book already favorably known as a painstaking monograph upon the history of the Spanish and French colonies in the present states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida. For though the book centres about Mobile, Mr. Hamilton cannot refrain from excursions into the surrounding country. With a point of view necessarily different from that of the historian of Louisiana or of Mississippi, he gives with more care for accuracy of detail than one finds in most local histories the story of the discovery, exploration, and final settlement of the region. Beginning with a description of the topography of the country which rather overemphasizes, one might think, the influence of the Alabama-Tombigbee basin upon its settlement and subsequent history, he records the Piñeda expedition to Spiritu Santo, or Mobile Bay, and proceeds with Narvaez and the expedition of De Soto. In this connection two new chapters are added, or rather the material is expanded sufficiently to make two; for example, matters that fill pages 18-22 in the first edition are rehandled in pages 30-36 of the new edition (ch. iv.), while in another place fifteen pages in the new edition represent three of the old (pp. 14-17, 14-29). In the same manner, we find that some eight or ten new chapters have been incorporated in the book, several chapters have been much amplified, and two formerly in the body of the book have been relegated to the appendix.

As in the first edition of this work, there is everywhere the most commendable accuracy; Mr. Hamilton is solicitous rather to present a clear record of facts than to interpret them. And a very considerable part of the work is based upon original authorities, manuscripts and documents not accessible except in Mobile, narratives of early explorers or pioneers, or reliable secondary authorities. There is full reference for every statement of importance; and the literature of the subject, whether in manuscript or in print, has been very thoroughly covered. Mr. Hamilton presents the evidence; he rarely undertakes to establish a new point in the larger history of the country, contenting himself with the valuable minutiae faithfully reproduced from local documents; and he is as cautious about taking issue with the opinions of others, as he is about venturing an opinion of his own.

From this arise the merits and the defect of the book. It is a storehouse richly stocked with materials gleaned from many sources that would not be open to the ordinary historian. But it is not a good connected history of colonial Mobile, for the author seems deficient in the faculty of composing a clear and interesting narrative. The nearest approach to a narrative style, perhaps, is in such chapters as that giving the story of the Chevalier Montaut de Montberaut, but even here the writer seems embarrassed by his documents, unwilling to let himself write with abandon a romantic narrative of incidents that would tempt

one to do so. One cannot but be grateful that the work has been done by so careful a scholar; and yet one feels that in spite of the five hundred and ninety-four pages between the covers the history of Mobile is not given with sufficient clearness of outline to leave a definite image. There is too much in the volume that seems to concern Mobile remotely, or not at all.

PIERCE BUTLER.

The Relations of the United States and Spain: Diplomacy. By FRENCH ENSOR CHADWICK, Rear Admiral U. S. Navy. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. 610.)

THE author describes this important work as "the outcome of a study of the causes of the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain" or "the story of more than a hundred years of what has been really a racial strife". But the title of the book furnishes us with a more accurate and exact description than the introduction. It is a study in the history of diplomacy—a very adequate and impartial account of the diplomatic relations between the two countries from 1763 to 1898.

It goes without saying that these diplomatic relations throw an immense flood of light upon the causes of the war with Spain, and Admiral Chadwick has dealt with this phase of the subject in a manner which leaves little or nothing to be desired. Unless valuable material lies hidden in the Spanish archives, his work is not likely soon to be superseded or, indeed, to need serious revision.

But diplomatic relations do not tell the whole story of the causes of any war. Consequently, this work should be supplemented by one which will deal in equally generous and impartial fashion with the economic, social, and general political relations between the two peoples or races. Such a study should include, for example, a comparison between the English and Spanish colonial systems, a discussion of American and Spanish political methods and ideals, a treatment of the racial characteristics and psychology of the two nations, etc.

It should also be said that while the author's hypothesis that the hundred years' diplomatic struggle between the United States and Spain was "really a racial strife" may be partly correct, it can hardly be regarded as demonstrated in this volume. The two excellent authorities (Hume and Lea) cited in the introduction and the repeated illustrations of the Oriental workings of the Spanish mind furnished in the body of the work can scarcely be regarded as sufficient proof.

While it is unquestionably true that the lack of mutual sympathy and understanding contributed in no slight degree to the outcome, it would seem almost self-evident that economic considerations played an important if not a superior (and at times an exclusive) rôle, at least on the part of the United States. This was certainly true in the case of the struggle for the right to navigate the Mississippi, and the author himself points out (p. 407) that "the greed of American and Spanish protectionists was, in fact, at the bottom of Cuban revolt" (in 1895).

The main criticism of the reviewers of this work appears to have been directed against Admiral Chadwick's conclusion that President McKinley's decision on April 11, 1898, to place the issue of war or peace in the hands of Congress was "the best, judged by our knowledge of to-day, for Spain, for Cuba and the United States" (p. 576). It is justly pointed out in this connection (and our author conceals none of these facts) that at the time this message was sent in Spain had practically yielded to all the American demands which were officially presented to her. She had revoked the order of reconcentration, and had, at the eleventh hour, granted the required armistice to the Cuban insurgents. In short, President McKinley surrendered to the war advocates at the very moment when he had won an apparent victory for peace.

Far be it from us to defend such diplomacy. A technical defense might of course be made on the ground that the Spanish propositions of March 31 included a refusal of our proposal for an armistice, and that our terms were never officially accepted. But such a defense would be worthy of an advocate rather than an historian. But we submit that President McKinley's weak and equivocal conduct by no means invalidates Admiral Chadwick's conclusion. Nor does it reflect upon the American people by whom this phase of the subject was not clearly understood at the time.

Suppose the Spanish proposal for an armistice had been accepted by the insurgents—which is altogether unlikely! Suppose the Cuban Peace Congress had met and agreed upon some scheme of autonomy short of absolute independence! How do we know that Cuba would not be in chains to-day? We have nothing to show that Cuba would be free except the opinion of General Woodford, the instrument of these negotiations, and the peace advocates. All we know about Spanish history and the Spanish character operates against this view. Besides, the Spanish government never committed itself in favor of Cuban independence. The weakness of President McKinley's diplomacy lay not in his failure to yield to the pacifists, but rather in his neglect during the negotiations to insist upon the absolute independence of Cuba as a *sine qua non* of peace.

Having given some special attention to this subject, the reviewer may perhaps be excused for saying that he fully agrees with the author that it was wise to cut this Gordian knot with the sword. What misery and bloodshed might have been avoided if it had been cut by General Grant in 1873, or, perhaps better still, by Secretary Webster in 1850!

Little need be said by way of positive criticism of Admiral Chadwick's admirable book. But one error has been noted—a misprint of March 5 for April 5 on page 572. The author quotes freely but discriminatingly from the documents and allows them to tell the story as much as possible. This adds to the value, but may detract somewhat from the deserved popularity, of the work.

As evidence of his impartiality, might be cited his repeated insistence

upon the fact that the insurgents were at least as guilty as the Spaniards of the misery and starvation in Cuba, and that the Cubans were far greater criminals in the eyes of international law than the Spaniards whose reconcentration policy the Law of Nations does not in fact unreservedly condemn. He need not have been as cautious in stating the reasons for Senator Sherman's appointment as Secretary of State. All the world knows it was to make way for Mark Hanna—the evil genius of the McKinley administration—in the Senate. Great as are the merits of the *New York Nation* in some respects, it may be doubted whether this excellent weekly is ever a safe guide as an indication of American public sentiment.

If any portions of the work are to be marked for special commendation, the reviewer would select the chapters on the Holy Alliance, the Development of the Monroe Doctrine, and the Ten Years' War (including the case of the *Virginius*). There is an excellent index.

Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER, Ph.D. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1910. Pp. ix, 366.)

THIS book treats Virginia history from 1776 to 1861 and, though it professes only to review those matters which entered into or bore upon the long sectional quarrel between the eastern and the western parts of the state, taken altogether, it is the best history of the Old Dominion since 1776 we have; for the sectional quarrel there, as in the nation at large, was the dominant issue of every crisis, of almost every legislative session.

There are ten chapters, an excellent bibliography, and twelve valuable maps. The first chapter sets forth the geographical and racial differences which were fundamental factors in the politics of the colony for twenty or thirty years prior to the Revolution. Then follow accounts of the conflict of interest between up-country and low-country in 1776, in the period of 1783–1789, and during the struggle between the Jefferson party and the Federalists. There is an excellent chapter on the Rise of the National Republican Party which must be welcome to students of Virginia history who have not hitherto had the tangled personal politics of the so-called era of good feeling analyzed and cleared up.

The best work of the book is, however, that which treats of the Convention of 1829–1830, to which thirty-eight pages are devoted. Forty pages are given to the account of the quarrels over internal improvements, a belated attempt to settle the slavery problem, and Nullification. The remaining one hundred and twenty pages deal with the Whig period, the reform movement of 1850, education, the churches, and political parties. The bibliography of ten pages is perhaps the best we have for this period of Virginia history and it shows how thoroughly the author has explored his field. Many pamphlets, some manuscripts, and practically all the known newspaper files have been consulted.

During all these years the party alignments of Virginia were largely though not exclusively based on the differences which nature had imposed. And these differences were sharply accentuated by the fact that the Scotch-Irish and German migrations to Virginia about the middle of the eighteenth century affected almost exclusively the up-country. And there was no great staple which, as in the lower South, could be grown in all Virginia and thus render her interests homogeneous. However, the sharp dispute about slavery which marked the first half of Mr. Ambler's period was in a fair way to final settlement when the Civil War came on. Slavery had made its impress on West Virginia; besides, the up-country had come to fear the free more than the slave. Western Virginians were quite content that slavery should prevail in the low-country, especially now that they had gained practical control of the legislature and had named the governors in every election; and they were increasing in population more rapidly than the east.

Throughout the book there is manifest an unbiassed and detached judgment, devotion to truth, and clear historical insight. It is refreshing to find a scion of one of Virginia's old families writing so frankly and freely about ante-bellum institutions in the South, witness the chapter on the Convention of 1829-1830 or the treatment of the struggle between the Methodist factions for control in northwestern Virginia.

It may not appear grateful to suggest even slight faults in a book which gives such satisfaction as does this, but it seems to the reviewer that closer attention to the Convention of 1776 might have revealed more about the contending forces—the failure of the Liberal leaders; and the author has not quite appreciated the rôle of Jefferson during the last dozen years of his life. However, these are minor matters. Professor Ambler has done well a rather difficult task. He has produced the best book on Virginia since the appearance of Philip Bruce's *Economic History* in 1896.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846. By EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS, Ph.D., Professor of History in Leland Stanford Jr. University. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1909.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1910. Pp. viii, 267.)

THE title of this book sufficiently indicates its scope, except that most of the "activities" that it mentions took place at London, Mexico, and Paris—a fact, however, which does not lessen their importance. The narrative could easily have been made more readable; but the author did not choose to give himself that trouble in addition to all the rest of his labor, and the reviewer is not disposed to complain. On the other hand, the substance of the book cannot escape criticism, for it contains numerous errors, chargeable doubtless to no lack of ability or sound intentions

on the part of the author, but to want of time and to the narrowness of the field investigated—certain series of documents found in the Public Record Office, London. A few of the simple cases will indicate what is meant. Page 13: “at the time there was little question, save in extreme abolition circles, that the allegations of Calhoun [in his correspondence with Pakenham, touching British interference in Texas] had some foundation in fact”; but, as Calhoun merely asserted on that subject what Aberdeen had avowed, the foundation of his “allegations” was beyond question (*Sen. Doc. No. 341*, 28 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 50, 65). Page 20: “The records of the foreign office contain no trace whatever of this purported sale [of Texas to Englishmen] or of any similar scheme”; but the British minister reported a plan of the Mexican government to transfer Texas to England in his no. 48, July 1, 1836 (F. O., Mexico, XCIX.). Page 43: “Cañedo and his fellow-ministers . . . were deterred from advocating a policy that meant peace with Texas only by their fear of a popular uprising”; but Cañedo’s article in *La Revista Económica y Comercial de la República Mexicana* (January 15, 1844) shows that they did advocate such a plan. On page 61 the signing of the Anglo-Texan treaties is correctly stated to have taken place in 1840, but on page 93 this is placed among the events of 1842. Page 80: “throughout his career at the Mexican capital Pakenham very accurately reflected the attitude of the government at home”; but on page 123 he is said to have decided to take no action on certain definite instructions. Page 101: “Aberdeen . . . believed the United States destined to break up into separate states”; but his words (p. 102) were only that the Union “may in future times have separated” thus. On page 113 Professor Adams says: “up to November of 1842 no trace of any suggestion by British officials in authority that Texas abolish slavery is to be found.” This would be highly important, if true; but the envoy of Texas, reporting (January 5, 1838, Texas Archives) on his failure to secure British recognition, said that Palmerston had again brought up the question of slavery, and Palmerston himself remarked in the House of Commons, March 1, 1848 (*London Times*, March 2), that the government would have been “most delighted” to secure Abolition in Texas (as the price of recognition), but “could not obtain it”, which implies with considerable distinctness that such an attempt had been made. Page 131: Houston “argued most vigorously against Santa Anna’s proposal for an armistice”; but the British chargé wrote at this time (April 14, 1843) that Houston considered an armistice “indispensably necessary” (F. O., Texas, VI.). What he objected to was the idea that the armistice should be followed with an acknowledgment of Mexican sovereignty. On page 128 this plan is said to have resulted from Robinson’s obtaining an audience with Santa Anna and making certain representations to him; on page 133 the author says, “The plan had originated with Santa Anna”; and on page 229 we are told that it resulted from an Abolition meeting that occurred at London in June, 1843; whereas in fact it was definitely proposed

to Santa Anna by Robinson in a letter dated January 9, 1843 (a copy of which letter may be found in the Archives of the Texas Legation, State Department, Washington). On page 137 Professor Adams says that this plan "appeared upon the surface to tend toward the accomplishment of a permanent peace"; but on page 135 he more correctly remarks that it "seemed to lead up to an inevitable dead-lock". Page 138, note: "it has been impossible to determine with certainty which one of them [the Tappans] was received by Aberdeen"; but according to letters from England printed in the newspapers (*e. g.*, *New York Herald*, October 14, 1843; *Garrison's Liberator*, July 28, 1843) it was Lewis who went over to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention. On page 143 we find: "On November 16 Everett reported to Upshur:—" but what follows is really a very inaccurately quoted passage from Anson Jones (*Memoranda*, p. 82). Page 145: Aberdeen's note to Ashbel Smith "disclaimed any intention of interfering in Texan affairs"; but the note added the qualification "improperly", on which a world of meaning could hang. On page 147 Aberdeen is alleged to have "denied that British policy had gone farther [regarding slavery in Texas] than an expression of a philanthropic interest"; but he avowed openly (*Sen. Doc. No. 341*, 28 Cong., 1 sess., p. 49) that England was "constantly exerting herself" to bring about Abolition "throughout the world", and mentioned Texas particularly in that connection. Page 148: Elliot, the British chargé in Texas, is said to have been delighted with Aberdeen's despatch of July 31 to Doyle and much is built on this foundation; but in writing to Aberdeen (no. 28, September 30, 1843) he indicated that it was no. 10 which had pleased him, and no. 10 was dated July 1. Page 150: Upshur sent to Murphy "the contents" of the famous "Duff Green" letter. Would that he had; but Upshur stated that he sent only a "passage" (*Sen. Doc. No. 341*, 28 Cong., 1 sess., p. 18). The author explains (p. 152) that Elliot's "only comfort [on hearing that the United States had suggested annexation] lay in the non-committal attitude of Texas and the evident intention of Houston to postpone action"; but why did Elliot forget that (*e. g.*, p. 155) he believed Houston sincerely desired to prevent annexation? On page 160 Cowley's despatch of January 15, 1844, is said to be "the only despatch referring to the supposed protest to be found"; but Pakenham's no. 22, April 14, 1844 (F. O., America, CDIV.), shows that "a formal protest" against the annexation of Texas was authorized by the French government. In a note on page 201 we are informed that Elliot's reports confirm Jones's assertion (in his *Memoranda*) that he always represented the Texans as so determined upon joining the United States that any other result was very improbable; but this is certainly not the case (*e. g.*, Elliot, secret, December 28, 1844, F. O., Texas, IX.). On page 215, as elsewhere, the French chargé in Texas is named "Savigny", and he is said to have proceeded to Mexico on a certain highly important mission; but his name was "Saligny", and instead of undertaking such a mission, he went to New York at that

time (*Memphis Eagle*, April 23, 1845; *Charleston Courier*, April 29, 1845). On page 228 we are startled by the remark that Palmerston did not even "consider" the "possibility" of the annexation of Texas to the United States. In fact he intimated to the envoy of that country that, if she were going to join the American Union, an acknowledgment of her independence was unnecessary (Worley, in *Tex. Hist. Assoc. Quarterly*, IX. 4); and our minister to England reported (no. 4) on August 6, 1836, that the probability of the annexation of Texas was already perceived there (State Dept., Desps. from Mins., England, XLIV.). The author shows great freedom in imputing intentions to statesmen. On page 182 are two of these ascriptions, one of them labelled "undoubtedly" and the other "unquestionably", neither of which the reviewer can accept; and, in general, positiveness in presenting such inferences or conjectures appears a little out of place in a book described in its preface as "purely technical". The author's views regarding Elliot, the feeling of the northern Mexicans towards Texas, the reasons why Great Britain opposed our annexing that country, "Aberdeen's withdrawal from joint action with France", and several other matters, deserve an examination for which there is no space here. The foot-notes leave something to be desired. References that would be welcome are in numerous instances wanting; and despatches, though sometimes as many as eight or ten addressed to the same person bear the same date, are very seldom cited by number. A chapter on the annexation of California and an index of less than three pages conclude the volume.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Charles Sumner. By GEORGE H. HAYNES, Ph.D., Professor of History in the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. [*American Crisis Biographies.*] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1910. Pp. 469.)

THE series of *Crisis Biographies* would have been incomplete without a volume on Charles Sumner. This circumstance rather than any original inspiration seems to have called forth this new life of the Massachusetts statesman. It does not appear that the biographer has approached his task with any new material or with any new interpretation of Sumner's career. New material, indeed, could hardly be expected in view of the monumental work which Pierce erected to the memory of his hero. To the biographer of a later generation there are advantages and disadvantages in the pre-existence of a Boswell. While Professor Haynes has assembled his material carefully and has written a clear, readable narrative, he is nevertheless very much under the spell of Sumner's compelling personality. Sharing Sumner's hatred of the "barbarism of slavery" and predicating "inevitable" to the revolution which emancipated the slave, the biographer conceives Sumner in the rôle of

prophet in quite the old Hebrew sense. Even while conceding that Sumner was often doctrinaire and intemperate in speech, he cannot withhold admiration for this "pioneer of agitation" whose mission it was to assail public injustice. What escapes the biographer is the ignorance of Sumner respecting the actual institution of slavery. Pierce is authority for the statement that in 1855, while on a visit to Lexington, Kentucky, Sumner for the first and only time in his life inspected the condition of slaves on a plantation. His host on that occasion testifies that Sumner was surprised at the comfort and contentment of the blacks. Yet shortly after this incident Sumner wrote solemnly, "the more I think and see of slavery, the more indefensible does it seem." What offended Sumner's conscience was slavery in the abstract. In all that he said and wrote upon slavery there is not a glimmer of insight into the nature of the race problem which underlay slavery; yet had he possessed the teachableness of real wisdom, he might have learned much from his friend Agassiz who saw to the heart of the problem.

The defects of Sumner's statesmanship were most conspicuous after the Civil War, when unluckily his influence was greatest. Professor Haynes recognizes that the work of reconstruction called for talent of a different order from that needed to correct an abuse. "Sumner", he writes discriminately, "had entered political life at the top, undisciplined by the struggles through which alone most men reach that eminence. He had singularly little experience in the adaptation of legislation to constructive ends and none at all in the practical work of carrying laws into effect in government." From first to last Sumner was what Theodore Parker declared he would be, a senator with a conscience. But the inner voices which spoke to him led him into strange inconsistencies. He declaimed against war, yet with fatuous disregard of the effect of his language he contributed in no small measure to bring on fratricidal war by his intemperate assaults upon the social order of the South; he sought civil and political equality for the freedman, but he could not be just to those disfranchised Southern leaders without whose co-operation the bestowal of the ballot upon the negro became a hollow mockery; trained as a jurist, he could yet in his zeal for humanitarian ends declare that "anything for human rights is constitutional."

The actual influence of Sumner as a national statesman cannot be measured by his effective appeals to the New England conscience. Professor Haynes has not demonstrated that Sumner with all his grandiose eloquence hastened Emancipation; and he has not emphasized sufficiently that after the war Sumner played, albeit unconsciously, into the hands of politicians who were utilizing forces which he neither evoked nor effectively controlled.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

MINOR NOTICES

A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries, with Descriptive and Critical Annotations. By Charles M. Andrews, Ph.D., J. Montgomery Gambrill, and Lida Lee Tall. (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1910, pp. xiv, 224.) This little book, carefully prepared by a committee of the Maryland History Teachers' Association and adopted by the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, is, it is plain, intended mainly for the use of teachers in high schools and elementary schools. It is limited to books written in English, which of course in some departments is a most serious limitation. There are sections on the study and teaching of history, on world histories, ancient, European, English, American, and other history, and a final one, devoted to historical stories for school children. The section relating to American history is the best and is in fact very good, the selection of books listed being an excellent one, and the comments made upon them judicious and informing. Indeed the book as a whole is well done, although, as is almost always the case in such books, there is a certain monotony or timidity or want of incisiveness in the comments (with abundant "rathers" and "somewhats"), which may obscure to the minds of many teachers the wide differences that separate the best books from the least valuable of those listed. The titles are given with remarkable correctness, and are accompanied with prices and publishers' names. It seems extraordinary that there is no index.

Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française. Par Maurice Prou, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à l'École des Chartes. Troisième édition. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910, pp. 509, and album of 24 plates.) It is now more than twenty years since, in 1889, this attractive and admirable introduction of the study of manuscripts first came from the press. Already in 1892 a second edition was needed; but this was scarcely more than a reprint. Now, however, its author, for a decade past a professor in that pre-eminent school of archive science, the École des Chartes, to which he owed his paleographic training, has rewritten his work from start to finish and has rearranged it as well. Its less than four hundred pages have become more than five hundred. The chapter on materials and implements of writing has migrated from the end to the beginning. The section on Tironian notes is rewritten, much enlarged, by Maurice Jusselin. A new section deals with Cryptography and another with the handwriting of the eighteenth century—notably the "littera Sancti Petri" of the papal chancellery. Two indexes, a bibliographical and an alphabetical, add greatly to the convenience of the user. What is more important still, the revised work mirrors on every page the progress of its science in the last two decades; while, on the other hand, much that belonged more properly to neighbor sciences is now omitted. The dictionary of abbreviations, though no longer

mentioned on the title-page, retains its place; but the plates of facsimiles are now dropped from the volume, and in their stead there accompanies it a quarto album of plates. These do not reproduce the old facsimiles, nor yet do they duplicate those of the three distinct *recueils* published by the author in 1892, 1896, and 1904. To all these as well as to the new album the new text refers for illustration. In fine, so different is this new edition from the old that the old, though antiquated, will retain an independent value.

G. L. B.

Ancient and Modern Imperialism. By the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., LL.D. Published by permission of the Classical Association. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1910, pp. vii, 143.) This is a lecture delivered before the Classical Association of England, and now published in a somewhat expanded form.

An utterance like this is bound to have a wide hearing, both because of what it actually says, and because of him who says it. Despite a modest disclaimer of any "pretension to scholarship", it is evident that Lord Cromer's busy years of public service have not dampened his love for the classics, nor prevented him from keeping up with the more important publications of modern investigators. The lecture therefore would have considerable value, even if it did not carry the personal views of a distinguished British proconsul.

Lord Cromer's thesis seems to be this: "The Romans succeeded better than the English in governing and assimilating Oriental and undeveloped Western races, but they had a much easier task." In the first place the Roman Empire was smaller than the British and far more compact. Again the Roman Imperialists were far less deterred than are moderns by sentimental and moral considerations from acting entirely as worldly wisdom dictated. The Romans exploited such a country as Egypt with a lack of conscience absolutely impossible to Englishmen in India.

The leading advantages of the Romans, however, thinks Lord Cromer, were not these. The Romans were far nearer akin in civilization, mental attitude, etc., to their Oriental subjects than the British, say to the Hindus, and above all they escaped the direful religious handicap. Never did they as Christians try to rule Moslems, Brahmins, and Buddhists, nor run upon a religious barrier which vastly increased the difficulties of social equality and of fusion by intermarriage. Also the native languages of the Roman Empire had far less hold on the provincials than the various Asiatic tongues of to-day.

The decidedly stimulating essay concludes with an earnest appeal to Englishmen not to be discouraged by the severity of their task, and especially—as champions of civilization—not to allow India to drift back into Asiatic chaos.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

Essays relating to Ireland, Biographical, Historical, and Topographical. By C. Litton Falkiner, with a Memoir of the Author by Edward Dowden, LL.D. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. xx, 249.) This is the third, and unfortunately the last, of a group of related works by the same author, its two predecessors *Studies and Illustrations of Irish History* having been published respectively in 1902 and 1904. As they were devoted more particularly to the eighteenth and the seventeenth centuries respectively, the historical part of this volume refers largely to the sixteenth and the early part of the succeeding century, though it extends also into subsequent periods. The first essay, "Spenser in Ireland", already attracted the attention of students of literature on its first appearance in the *Edinburgh Review*. A close familiarity with the scenery of Ireland, a minute knowledge of the *Faerie Queen* and Spenser's other writings, a clear conception of the times of Elizabeth, and a power of vivid imagination, combine to make this study as much a model of what such an investigation should be as it is a contribution to its subject. The other essays are equally worthy of praise, that on the Duke of Ormonde and his papers being especially interesting, and that on Robert Emmet and his biographers notable for its broad-minded liberality in a field long too much given over to partizanship and misrepresentation.

The spirit of candor in all Mr. Falkiner's work is most admirable. As he remarks, "our homage to moral grandeur, intellectual power or great achievement need not be limited by our predilection or our prejudices." He is none the less a patriot that he declares, "One broad moral of Irish history is that the study of the past of Ireland is a signal lesson in charity to all Irishmen." The good style and good taste of the author are as noticeable as his spirit and his learning. The descriptions of Dublin, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Armagh, and Galway remind one of Mr. Green's graceful weaving into one fabric of topographical details and historical incidents. Doubtless it is the same qualities in the two writers that lead to such a treatment, a combination of appreciation for the actual physical appearance of the spot with an unusually strong power of historic reproduction. In his general treatment of Irish history Mr. Falkiner naturally suggests Lecky. But he has a broader attitude than even that learned historian. As to his actual contributions to the knowledge of Irish history, they are considerable, but detached. There is scarcely one of the twenty or twenty-five historical and biographical essays he wrote that does not contain some new information; and some, like that on Irish Parliamentary Antiquities in the present volume, almost break new ground. Nor can this amount of work, with his numerous contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Chambers's *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, his other editorial and secretarial work, his editorship of the *Ormonde Papers* for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, his services as an official on the Land Commission, and in other public institutions, be considered less than remark-

able for a man of forty-five. One can only regret that he was not permitted to put this knowledge, skill, and fine spirit into the more permanent form of a connected historical work, and must deplore the early death that prevented it. Mr. Falkiner was killed in an accident in the Alps near Chamouni in the summer of 1908.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Les Lombards dans les Deux Bourgognes. Par Léon Gauthier. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études: Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, fascicule 156.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1907, pp. xiii, 397.) Gauthier's new material from the archives, as well national as departmental and municipal, illustrating the activity of the Lombards in Burgundy, forms a welcome supplement to Piton's work of 1892-1893 on the Lombards in France. From more than a thousand documents pertinent to the subject (p. 62), Gauthier has chosen one hundred and eighty of the most interesting for publication, and these *pièces justificatives* fill the largest and most important part of the volume. They give examples of the various transactions in which the Lombards were engaged, of their commerce in money and commodities, of partnership agreements, of toll tariffs, and of their chartered privileges and obligations. An appendix contains a valuable list of nearly four hundred and fifty Lombards mentioned in Burgundian documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the period of their regular appearance in the two Burgundies as money-lenders and bankers.

The editing of documents seems to be competently done; the weakness of the book is in the seventy-four pages of introductory text. Here, for instance, Gauthier talks loosely of the concourse of merchants from all parts of Europe to the fairs of Champagne in the fifth century (p. 67), but such a statement might have been expected from one who had spoken in his first paragraph of the fully developed medieval trade from Italy northward as already active "aux temps mérovingiens et carolingiens". At that period, he assures us among other things, the Simplon and Mont Cenis passes were frequented by the merchant caravans of Genoa, Asti, and Milan, but if he had consulted Schulte's *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs*, he would have found that, at any rate from the middle of the thirteenth century back as far as documentary evidence reaches, the Simplon pass was little used by merchants in comparison with the Mont Cenis and the St. Bernard. This detail is mentioned only as significant of Gauthier's deficient equipment in the history of commerce and its literature. He discusses the commercial and financial operations of the Italian merchant-bankers, or their partnership organization; yet there is no indication that he is acquainted with such works as those of Goldschmidt or Lattes, Davidsohn or Sieveking, Schaube or Simonsfeld. He gives the whole of his first chapter to Asti, its political history and patrician families, obviously meaning thus to introduce the Lombards who were most concerned with

developing the Burgundian trade connections. The merchants of Asti were undoubtedly early prominent in Burgundy; indeed, Gauthier neglects entirely one of the most striking evidences of their prior and pre-eminent position, the privilege of 1190 granted by Duke Hugh of Burgundy to the Genoese which promised them rights equal to those already enjoyed by the Astesan traders. But it is not a well-balanced introduction which is preoccupied with Asti alone and forgets other Lombard centres of Burgundian trade, such as Milan or Piacenza. In our regret, however, that Gauthier's training in economic history was not more adequate to his task, we should not forget our obligation for the young archivist's painstaking work as editor of this useful selection of documents.

EDWIN F. GAY.

Histoire du Comté du Maine pendant le X^e et le XI^e Siècle. Par Robert Latouche. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1910, pp. viii, 203.) In this brief volume M. Latouche has sought not so much to recount the annals of Maine in the tenth and eleventh centuries as to illustrate the political and social transformation of a Frankish *pagus* into a feudal county during this critical period. Its small size and geographical position prevented the county of Maine from occupying a position of much independence or importance and led ultimately to its absorption into the Angevin dominions; but the feudal history of the region is interesting, the commune of Le Mans constitutes an early and significant example of municipal development, and the bishops of this see, known to us particularly through the interesting record of the *Acta Pontificum*, hold a high place among the prelates of northern France. M. Latouche has utilized the narrative and documentary evidence in sober and critical fashion, and has an eye for the significant points. In historical quality his study is much superior to M. Valin's recent volume on Normandy, and if it falls somewhat short of M. Halphen's remarkable monograph on Anjou in the same period, it has greater interest for the student of institutions. There are appendixes discussing important groups of charters and various matters of feudal and episcopal biography, and a catalogue of charters issued by the counts from 929 to 1109.

C. H. H.

The Historians and the English Reformation. By the Rev. John Stockton Littell, M.A., Rector of St. James' Church, Keene, N. H. (Milwaukee, Wis., The Young Churchman Company, 1910, pp. viii, 307.) This unparalleled work endeavors to trace the attitude of historians toward those aspects of the English Reformation which are to the author of crucial dogmatic interest. He is fundamentally concerned to maintain the essential continuity of the Church of England before, during, and after the sixteenth century in point of doctrine and discipline. Over against the Roman Catholics, Macaulay, and a galaxy of lesser lights he sets those writers who teach that the Church of England

was neither "founded" nor "established" in the sixteenth century, who defend the view which the author pithily expresses on page 169: "The creed or creeds were not changed; the ritual was rather translated than changed; the ceremonial was simplified, but who would say that it was radically changed?" A phrase such as "Protestant Reformed religion established by law" (p. 255), which occurs in the coronation oath administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the author throws out of court because it is the requirement of Parliament, not of the Church—a principle which if carried out rigidly might have far-reaching constitutional consequences.

The method laid down in the introductory chapter is to set forth by long quotations the views of the English Reformation presented by the "great historians, the small historians, and the school historians" (p. 3). These secondary authorities are then to be confronted not with arguments drawn from the sources, but with appreciations or castigations by celebrated critics; thus the shield of Macaulay is borne down by the lances of a dozen knights of the pen, while the escutcheon of Freeman emerges with scarce a blot. If the great historians are brought into the lists one by one, the minor ones are usually led to the slaughter like the steers in Packingtown: an instant face to face, a single shot and all is over. That the shot is often accompanied by the waving of red rags adds to the atmosphere of earnestness which pervades the sanguinary scene. As for the school historians, words fail to describe their discomfiture; and in view of that base ignorance of the code of ecclesiastical honor which many of them display, the blows rained upon them will arouse no sympathy.

Not merely the monument to a tendency, the book points a moral. Historians must in future beware how they perpetrate, and publishers how they perpetuate, carelessly phrased statements concerning the ecclesiastical exploits of Henry VIII. and his kindred; nay, their very index-makers must be held to rigid accountability for the use of terms such as "Catholic" and "Church of Rome" (pp. 153 ff.). With such sensitiveness to terminology one can but wonder what Mr. Littell would have said had he known that the printed cards of the Library of Congress, incorporated in the catalogues of hundreds of college and public libraries throughout the country, employ the heading Catholic Church for titles which he would index under Roman Catholic Church! But the censorship does not as yet extend to our libraries; authors and publishers may content themselves with a searching of sources, followed if need be by a punching of plates, inspired by the laudable desire to secure impartial treatment of mooted religious questions in the public schools; for that, not the scientific determination of the real nature of the ecclesiastical changes in sixteenth-century England, is the true aim of this Tract for the Times.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

The Bardon Papers: Documents relating to the Imprisonment and Trial of Mary Queen of Scots. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Conyers Read, Ph.D., with a prefatory note by Charles Cotton, F.R.C.P.E., M.R.C.S. [Camden Third Series, volume XVII.] (London, Offices of the Society, 1909, pp. xlv, 139.) These documents, discovered at Bardon House, Somersetshire, in 1834, were acquired by the British Museum in 1870. Their present publication is due primarily to the author of the prefatory note. They are miscellaneous in character, including letters, instructions, abstracts of state papers, legal briefs, and various memoranda. Some few (Hatton's notes and six Burghley letters especially) are originals, but the greater number are contemporary copies. They contain much new material and most of them are now published for the first time. Their value is largely due to the light which they throw upon the methods of the English government in dealing with Mary and developing their case against her.

The papers fall mainly into three groups. The first relates to Parliamentary and governmental action in 1572 after the Norfolk plots, one document being apparently the only extant copy of Lord de la Warr's instructions. The second dates from 1583-1584, relating chiefly to negotiations then on foot for Mary's release; among these documents are Mary's offers and Hatton's arguments pro and con. The third and most important group dates from 1586. Besides the Mary-Babington correspondence and the six letters from Burghley to Hatton concerning preparations for the Babington trial, which throw a most curious light upon Elizabeth's psychology or administrative methods, it includes various documents apparently used by Hatton, then principal spokesman for the crown in the House of Commons, as the basis for his speech of November 3, 1586, while Mary's fate was hanging in the balance. This brief is the central document of the collection and is perhaps the reason for both its original and present existence. It summarizes the official case against Mary and, in connection with the documents upon which it is based, furnishes useful information for a proper understanding of the government's attitude towards her and the ultimate reasons for her unhappy fate.

The editor has performed his difficult task with great impartiality. His critical notes materially aid the scholar and his introduction and comments are laudably free from those attempts at finality which have ruined so many Marian researches.

O. H. RICHARDSON.

Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar. [Lothian Historical Essay for 1909.] By F. H. Lyon. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1910, pp. vii, 118.) Little has been written about the Count of Gondomar. A few contemporary tracts vilified his memory for his opposition to Raleigh; G. B. Smith placed him beside Talleyrand, Metternich, and Harley, wrote a few pages on him, and devoted the bulk of a brief

article to a restatement of Gardiner's account of the Spanish marriage (*Half Hours with some Famous Ambassadors*, pp. 121-157); Major Hume wrote in Spanish some forty pages of not very enlightening comment (*Españoles e Ingleses en el Siglo XVI.*, 1903, pp. 271-310); but apparently Mr. Lyon is the first to attempt, in English at least, a systematic account of Gondomar's life, policy, and achievements. Naturally so short an account by so young a writer has not escaped superficiality and a tendency to trite comment and over-generalization; naturally too the influence of Gardiner is apparent on every page. And where Dr. Gardiner's estimate of Gondomar, of minor characters, and of the general trend of the period was so closely followed, some clear acknowledgment of this indebtedness should have been made. The references in the foot-notes are almost as bad as none at all. They do not tell where the correspondence cited can be found, nor whether the letters are in print or in manuscript. Hume's essay is referred to (p. 73) by its chapter-heading instead of by the title of the book in which it is contained. Surely too the day is past when even prize-essay writers should refer us simply to the "State Papers, Domestic". In fact, the book is neither original nor scholarly. At the same time Mr. Lyon has produced a useful little book, and has made a beginning in the study of a difficult and important topic, which needs much more detailed research than a general historian like Dr. Gardiner could possibly find time for. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lyon will continue his work and give us later a mature and extended monograph on the well-known Spaniard.

R. G. U.

Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654. Volume IV. Edited by C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, volume XXXVII.] (Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1910, pp. xiv, 396.) The method of composition and treatment in this volume calls for no fresh comment, being the same as that of the preceding volumes, reviewed in previous numbers of this journal (V. 162, 792; XII. 420). Mr. Atkinson explains that Dr. Samuel R. Gardiner's connection with the work had merely consisted in having the Dutch documents from the archives of the Hague copied and translated, and in beginning the collection of the English papers. Archive papers make up the bulk of the volume, but a good amount of material has also been copied from the contemporary newspapers, such as *Mercurius Politicus*. The total number of documents is 216 (numbers 809-1024), divided evenly between two sections, each having an excellent introduction by Mr. Atkinson. The first of these sections consists of papers relating to Tromp's homeward voyage up the British Channel, convoying a great fleet of merchantmen, and to the three days' battle of February 18-20, O. S., 1652/3, from Portland up the length of the Channel. The most im-

portant accounts of this battle are no. 907, which the three generals—Blake, Deane, and Monck—sent to the Speaker, and on the other side that which Tromp sent to the States General, together with the journal of the *Monnikendam* and those of Evertsen and De Ruijter. The main theme of the second division is the long pause during March and April, O. S., which ensued upon the great battle, both governments being obliged to abstain from fleet operations until repairs had been effected. The papers in the second part are accordingly more largely administrative than military. The most important of them are numbers 945 and 946, instructions for the better ordering of the fleet in fighting and in sailing, issued on March 29, 1653, O. S. These were drawn up as the result of the great battle, and contain what are apparently the first instructions to vessels of squadrons to put themselves in line with their chief.

La Marine Militaire de la France sous le Règne de Louis XV. Par G. Lacour-Gayet, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur à l'École Supérieure de Marine. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1910, pp. x, 581. Deuxième édition.) The first edition of this book appeared in 1902. It contained in the appendix a list, covering seven pages, of nearly a hundred "Additions et Corrections". In this edition the corrections are incorporated in the text, and the additions appear as foot-notes on the pages to which they refer. A considerable number of new entries are also added to the foot-notes. There is scarcely any change in the body of the text, except the incorporation of the corrections. The most considerable addition of new matter to the text is to be found on pages 237-238 of the second edition, where a page of "Considérations sur la constitution de la marine militaire de la France" is inserted after the paragraph ending line 5, page 222, of the first edition. The pagination of the entire book is changed, slightly to be sure, but enough to render the new edition almost useless for reference from books that have cited the old. It looks as if this could have been avoided with a little effort on the part of, and with probably considerable profit to, the publisher. Apart from this inconvenience the changes considerably enhance the value of the book.

The Duke de Choiseul. [The Lothian Essay, 1908.] By Roger H. Soltau, Scholar of Pembroke College. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1909, pp. iii, 176.) This is a brief, entertaining, and in most regards commendable study of one of the most important personages in French history of the eighteenth century. No other of similar scope and character exists in English. It is apologetic in tone throughout and opposes many accepted opinions. Choiseul is made a hero, who, indeed, has faults and makes mistakes but most of them excusable. The usual severe criticisms of his renewal of the Austrian alliance in 1758 (p. 27) and his treacherous treatment of Poland (p. 38) are declared unjust. "The expulsion of the Jesuits becomes a mere incident in Choiseul's career instead of

being his chief title to the hatred of some and to the praise of many" (p. 139). Concerning the adverse influence of the king's new mistress, Madame du Barry, Soltau says, "Much has been said to prove that she engineered Choiseul's fall as Madame de Pompadour caused his advancement; but the desire for a neat parallel has induced many writers to exaggeration" (p. 148). In many minor matters he opposes other writers. He does not dissent from the accepted opinion that the Family Compact of 1761 is Choiseul's chief claim to fame, though he does not give it the usual emphasis. In most other matters he follows current belief.

The most serious defect is the absence of a critical bibliography, in fact of any sort of bibliography. The numerous citations in the footnotes, however, indicate an extended and careful use of well-selected primary, and also a few secondary, sources. The author's use of English is far from what it should be. There are numerous awkward constructions and not a few grammatical errors. There are also a few errors in fact, which are presumably due to the printer but should have been eliminated in proof-reading. Placing Mauritius and Réunion in the Pacific Ocean (p. 117) and the French Caribbean Islands in the Gulf of Mexico (p. 122) indicate insufficient familiarity with geography.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

In *Le Comte d'Artois et l'Expédition de l'Île d'Yeu* (Paris, Champion, 1910, pp. vii, 169) the Vicomte du Breil de Pontbriand essays to clear the Comte d'Artois from accusations of vacillation, timidity, and want of energy and conduct in the expedition named, by showing that his hands were tied by his British hosts and that their ineffective, in his judgment intentionally ineffective, management of the expedition made success impossible, especially after the defeat of Charette near Luçon. The book is neither skilfully written nor clearly arranged, but is based on industrious research, and on successful criticism of the *Mémoires de Vauban*.

Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (1801-1804), et Documents sur son Enlèvement et sa Mort. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Tome III. *La Famille: L'Europe.* (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910, pp. 1, 639.) This volume comes as a bit of surprise, for there was nothing in the earlier volumes to indicate that they would be followed by this bulky and extremely valuable appendix, which is an eloquent testimony to the thoroughness and conscientiousness with which Count Boulay de la Meurthe does his work. The first volume, published in 1904 (reviewed X. 423), contained the documents relating to events prior to March, 1804, while the second, published in 1907 (reviewed XIII. 905), included those dealing with the tragic event of that month. The present volume contains one hundred and seventy-one documents arranged in four chapters.

The first is composed mainly of the correspondence of the near relatives of the duke immediately after his arrest. The attitude of the Diet at Ratisbon toward the invasion of the territory of the Empire, the attitude of the various powers, especially of Russia, to the violent breach of international law, and the announcement in May of the intention of Bonaparte to assume the imperial title, are illustrated by the documents in the second chapter. As the most important result of this publication has been to reveal the psychological effect of the contemporaneous Royalist plots, such as those of Pichegru, Moreau, and Cadoudal, in determining Bonaparte to seize the innocent but unfortunately accessible Duke of Enghien, it is natural that there should be a chapter in this volume devoted to the measures of Bonaparte against the Royalists and their emissaries and against the agents of England upon the Continent during the months following the tragedy of Vincennes, and to the fate of the two generals and of the great Chouan leader. The last act of the tragedy opens with the futile protests of Louis XVIII. against Bonaparte's assumption of the imperial title and the ultimate retirement of the head of the Bourbon family to reside at Mitau under the protection of the Tsar. The various reigning Bourbons, with wry faces, one by one submit to the exaltation of the Corsican usurper, and the moribund Holy Roman Empire, at length, recognizes the new-born French Empire. The affair of Hanover; the arrest of Sir George Rumbold, the English minister resident at Hamburg, a curious counterpart of the arrest of the duke; the prelude to the war of commercial decrees with England; and finally the rupture with the Tsar Alexander I., trace the sequence of events to the coronation of Napoleon as emperor of the French, where the curtain falls.

All the excellent qualities of the preceding volumes are evident in this, which includes a few documents supplementary to the earlier volumes and an extensive index of the series. The introduction, entitled "Les Sources", is in reality a discussion of the Enghien controversy down to 1830, and is notable for the effort to fix no small part of the blame upon Talleyrand. Despite his many virtues the editor does not appreciate the value of complete and exact bibliographical information, and though obviously possessed of abundant knowledge for the purpose, he sins in not furnishing an exhaustive annotated bibliography of the subject, on which his work displaces all others. Count Boulay de la Meurthe's volumes form by far the most important and valuable work yet published by the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne, 1808-1813. Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par M. Geoffroy de Grandmaison. Tome IV., Juillet 1810-Mars 1811. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910, pp. 588.) The first three volumes of this correspondence have already been reviewed in this journal (XV. 609). The fourth is even more interesting than its predecessors and is

strongly to be commended to anyone who wishes to see how uneasy lies the head that wears a crown. Napoleon's *coup* at Bayonne in 1808 was sufficiently complicated in itself, but the plot thickens as it proceeds and becomes wonderfully involved. The financial difficulties of Joseph's government continue unabated. His ministers spin their unavailing web which events incessantly unravel. A considerable part of this correspondence describes in a fragmentary, disconnected fashion these futile efforts which only ended in his Most Catholic Majesty's being forced to sell some of the sacred vessels of the royal chapel in order to secure a little ready money and in his being obliged to ask his brother for a certain allowance each month for the adequate maintenance of his government. Joseph's request met with the response which similar requests frequently meet with in more humble walks of life. Instead of the desired funds came advice and admonition.

This volume abounds in items on the progress of the incoherent and scattered Spanish war, concerning which La Forest was very ill informed, on the difficulties of diplomatic communication owing to the seizure of couriers by the insurgents, on the extreme disorganization of the state, on the insurrectionary Cortes of Cadiz, on the attempts of Joseph to get together a collection of fifty of the finest Spanish pictures as a present to his art-loving brother in Paris, attempts which the patriotic and knowing indolence of the Spanish officials caused to drag unconscionably so that indeed they were not realized in the period covered by this book.

The part of the correspondence which is of greatest significance is that which concerns the relations of Joseph and Napoleon. Volume III. closed with the announcement of Napoleon's annexation of northern Spain to France. Against this decree, which, by destroying the integrity of the kingdom, rendered absolutely hopeless every chance Joseph had of ever becoming a national king in the eyes of the Spaniards, Joseph protested, sending special ambassadors to Paris to secure its revocation, whose mission however failed.

The latter part of the volume contains some remarkable despatches in which La Forest recounts several extraordinarily frank and intimate conversations of the discouraged and distracted king with him, about the general situation, about his personal feelings for his brother, his willingness to act primarily as a French prince in the interests of the Napoleonic system, rather than as a Spanish king, if only he could know what the emperor wanted and could receive proper support from him, about his resentment at the intolerable humiliations of his position, his desire to imitate Louis and abandon all this pinchbeck royalty and to live henceforth in quiet on his country estate in France, and about his ultimate inability to see any way out of the hopeless maze.

These despatches (pp. 369-377, 391-397, 439-445, 447-462, 490-500, 556-571) are thus far the most interesting and important part of this correspondence.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries. By James Alexander Robertson. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1910, pp. xv, 368.) This book was originally intended as an accompaniment to Professor Shepherd's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*. Its object is to show to persons engaged in research, whether working in Spanish archives or at home, what portions of the Spanish archive material relating to United States history are accessible in the United States in the form of print or of manuscript copies. Accordingly it is arranged in two parts, the one (pp. 1-72), a list of published documents, 1075 in number, so arranged as to show date, place, author or title, person addressed, the archival reference to the original document, and references to the place or places in which it has been printed. The second and larger portion of the book (pp. 73-332) gives data of a similar sort respecting 4257 documents of which transcripts exist in American repositories; it gives date, place, author or title, person addressed, the place of the original, and the place or places in America where transcripts may be found. To these lists, conveying with care a great mass of details which it may be hoped will be useful to historical investigators, Dr. Robertson has prefixed an account of the various collections of transcripts in America, and subjoined a bibliography showing authors and titles of the books referred to in his lists. The book concludes with thirty pages of index, in double columns.

Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, or the Origin and Development of the Social Classes of the Old Dominion. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker, M.A. (Charlottesville, Va., The Michie Company, 1910, pp. vi, 238.) The object of the author of these pages is to show that the so-called aristocracy of Virginia was not descended from English cavaliers but from canny merchants and tradespeople who settled in Virginia to better their fortunes. In this he is quite successful. In the second part he treats "the middle classes", showing easily that the larger element of the population of the Old Dominion descended from the freemen, from indentured servants, and even from less admirable ancestry.

Mr. Wertenbaker handles his material well and he has written without troublesome preconceptions. The style is good. There is a refreshing frankness in the treatment of the scandalous land speculations—one of the chief means of the creation of "the aristocracy". The author does not hesitate to call things by their right names (pp. 91-92). That there were cavaliers in Virginia he does not deny, but contends that their influence was negligible and their numbers hardly worth noting. The treatment of the middle class is thorough if not exhaustive; though the reviewer is not quite convinced that all or most of the criminally inclined, or ne'er-do-wells, packed off to North Carolina (pp. 176 ff.) soon after reaching Virginia. The author thinks the servant class left few descen-

dants; this ought to encourage both Virginia and North Carolina pedigree hunters. But he is right in his main contention that many, if not most, indentured servants were good substantial people who were thrust upon Virginia by ill-luck and economic conditions. The accounts of both aristocratic and small-farmer elements of Virginia are just and well worth reading, and the book as a whole well deserves a place in the growing literature of the Old Dominion.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Early Rhode Island: a Social History of the People. By William B. Weeden, A.M. [The Grafton Historical Series, edited by Frederick H. Hitchcock, A.M.] (New York, The Grafton Press, 1910, pp. x, 381.) This latest book by Mr. Weeden is in a field which he has made peculiarly his own, that of New England social and economic history. "In these pages", he says, "I have studied to find out how the [Rhode Island] outcasts lived. Isolated without church or school, with few men educated by system, how did the exiles in this narrow territory build up a new civilization, sufficient to attract the notice of Europe two centuries later?"

"Information is meager concerning the early ways of living in the society developed on Narragansett Bay; but enough exists to enlighten the story, as heretofore told, of theological controversies and political evolution. The old records both in print and in manuscript yield much that is significant of the thought and action of these striving citizens. One of the rare and very valuable collections of papers, descended from Nicholas Brown and Company, is now in the John Carter Brown library. It yielded much for our use, as shown herein. I have grubbed considerably in the inventories; for whether important or not, they are certainly true.

"Let us try to comprehend the social life of our forefathers!"

Conforming to the plan above outlined, Mr. Weeden dwells upon such topics as Interesting Customs, Furniture and Dress, Simple Living, Independent but not Free Spinsters, Frying Pans and Pitchwood Light, Marital Proceedings, Character of Exports, How Poor People Lived, Discipline of Negroes, a Widow's Outfit, African Slave-Trade, Wigs are Worn, Books and Symbolic Signs, Sea Food, the Position of Woman, Quaint Sign-Boards, Shopping at Tower Hill, Local Idioms, etc. The treatment too is highly minute. From 1636 to 1790, prices, barterings, enumerations, oddities of expression in legal and personal documents—nothing is overlooked. And, somewhat strange to say, the result is not a dry rehearsal. It is vital. Cataloguing is enlivened both by insight and by humor. There is throughout aptness, shrewdness of comment, an eye for what is illustrative and telling.

But the book while a social and economic study is not a social and economic study merely. Chapter I. is a restatement of Soul-Liberty, fresh, crisp, and vigorous. Chapter III. presents concisely the distin-

guishing features of politico-religious theory at Portsmouth and Newport, and later chapters deal with commerce, the slave-trade, and privateering. The familiar personages of early Rhode Island—Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, William Harris, William Coddington, Anne Hutchinson, Dean Berkeley, the Browns, the Wantons, Esek Hopkins—each is presented clearly and from a visual angle independently determined.

The text, it should be added, is supplemented by eight half-tone pictures—one representing what Mr. Weeden calls “Rhode Island’s Magna Charta”, the famed compact containing the historic words, “Only in civil things”, and there is a sufficient index.

I. B. R.

The Logs of the Conquest of Canada. Edited, with an introduction, by Lieutenant-Colonel William Wood. [Publications of the Champlain Society, volume IV.] (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1909, pp. xxvi, 335; maps in pocket.) Perhaps few records are presumed to be more dry-as-sawdust than the logs of ships, yet Colonel Wood reveals in this volume that even materials so uninviting may yield significant historical facts. The meteorologist may be interested in the data of winds and weather, but the historian will drowsily scan and reread such oft-repeated phrases as “ventilators working” or the recurrence of statements about drink, drunkenness, and corporal drubbing. Yet, this is by no means all.

The concomitant editorial apparatus consists of a short bibliography (4½ pp.), a cartography (7½ pp.), and a very important introduction (164 pp.) in five chapters on the Maritime War, Louisburg, the St. Lawrence, Quebec, and Montreal. In this introduction Colonel Wood makes a real contribution to the history of the period. He has not only analyzed the logs, but has drawn upon a large body of historical works, producing a narrative which, in its language and spirit, carries the reader back into an environment contemporary with the events described.

The second part of the volume (pp. 167–335) presents less than a thousand selections from the logs, and five letters of 1760. These logs have been used rarely by historians and have never before been published. The entire entry days for all the ships engaged in all of the campaigns number about 15,000, and “only the most important days of the most important ships are selected . . . but these have been carefully chosen to corroborate and supplement each other, so as to illustrate the history of the Conquest from the Naval point of view”. They are grouped by campaigns—three ships for Louisburg, embracing from May 28 to July 31, 1758; twenty-two ships and two sloops for Quebec, extending from June 1 to September 18, 1759; and six ships for Montreal, continuing from May 15 to September 8, 1760. Ships in the same campaign are arranged in alphabetical order, and the days’ entries of each ship are chronological. On the whole, this arrangement seems better than a

single chronological system by campaigns, irrespective of ships, because each ship played its individual part from day to day in the strategic manoeuvres.

Although the fleets were relatively stronger forces than the armies, the campaigns of 1758-1759 have been regarded hitherto as almost wholly military expeditions. This volume establishes for the first time "that Saunders, whose great fleet was working out one phase of a world-wide amphibious war, was supported by Wolfe, whose small army was used as a local landing party at Quebec", and that the conquest of Canada owed more to the navy than to the army.

The book deserved an index and it is regrettable that it has none. As the edition is limited to five hundred and twenty copies for members of the Champlain Society, subscribing libraries, and editorial use, the volume will not be very accessible to students; yet it fills an important gap in the materials of the last French and Indian war, and no writer on that period can afford to ignore it.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Lake George and Lake Champlain: the War Trail of the Mohawk and the Battleground of France and England in their Contest for the Control of North America. By W. Max Reid. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, pp. xviii, 381.) There is a place for a valuable monograph on the Lake Champlain-Lake George territory which shall study the progress of exploration and settlement, show the topographical and political reasons why it was so long the scene of warfare, and analyze the military and naval operations from the first collision between Champlain's St. Lawrence Indians and the Mohawks to the destruction of Downie's flotilla by MacDonough. There is also a place for a topographical guide-book to the historic sites of the region, and, in addition, there might well be written by some clear-sighted enthusiast the chronicle of an historical pilgrimage from Saratoga to Rouse's Point; but to attempt to combine these two with one another or with an historical study is to invite failure. Mr. Reid's book began as an attempt to illustrate and describe historic sites, but the writer's interest was so stirred by his reading that he attempted to transform the work into a history. The result can hardly be considered successful, for the book is an enthusiastic hodgepodge. There are disconnected chapters on the Indian tribes, the French missions and forts, the fourth French war of 1755, Burgoyne's invasion and the battle of Plattsburg, but as an historical contribution their value is nil. The writer has compiled them from existing works of varying merit and does not hesitate to include long extracts from Macauley's *History of the State of New York* and Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys*. There is no attempt at historical construction nor analysis and the episodes are treated without proportion and with continual repetitions. Other chapters contain tales of Indian adventure—fictitious as well as traditional—descriptions of the

present condition of historic ruins, and a narrative of a recent trip of the author in which personal anecdotes, observations on motor cars and hotels, bring the book to an incongruous close. The numerous illustrations are chiefly photographs of old ruins and historic sites, with a few reproductions of old drawings, one map of Ticonderoga, and a wholly inadequate and unsuitable railway map of the two lakes. While the book possesses interest from its subject and is written with an honest enthusiasm which wins sympathy, it must still be said in conclusion that the field for a good historical monograph on Lake George and Lake Champlain remains open.

The Spanish Régime in Missouri: a Collection of Papers and Documents relating to Upper Louisiana. Translated into English. In two volumes. Edited by Louis Houck. (Chicago, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1909, pp. xxv, 414; ix, 460.) This translation of transcripts secured by the editor for his *History of Missouri* not only furnishes additional detail on the earlier period but also gives evidence of the painstaking industry and, on the whole, the accuracy and intelligence with which these sources were used in the earlier work. The transcripts are for the most part from official reports and instructions; the series are imperfect and incomplete, as is inevitable in the present condition of the Spanish archives. While there is much material on the Spanish Indian policy, the Missouri River fur-trade, and the pressure from the Westward Movement after 1790, with some single documents of importance such as the report on the Anglo-Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780 and on the first overland journey from Santa Fé, for the most part the documents are concerned with the administration and internal development of a rather isolated and primitive community. The reports of general conditions, census returns, and statistics of products, imperfect as they are, are invaluable, and in many cases furnish the only source of accurate information. It is this material on local conditions that Mr. Houck has used most successfully, perhaps, in his *History*.

As a definitive edition of source-material, however, these volumes leave somewhat to be desired in scope and in execution. Inasmuch as some transcripts and papers not secured by the editor himself are included, the reason for the omission of the papers in the Missouri Historical Society, frequently referred to in the *History*, is not clear. A complete collection of the official documents now available and unpublished might seem a more logical plan. While the unfortunate method of publishing translations of source-material without the originals may in this case be unavoidable, and partly atoned for by the scholarship of the translator, Dr. J. A. Robertson, it is somewhat disconcerting to find that in a number of instances he questions the accuracy of the transcripts. The arrangement of the documents, partly chronological, partly topical, is sometimes confusing. The descriptive headings show an annoying lack of uniformity and consistency. Apparently two docu-

ments, CI. and CIV., not one as stated in the preface, are from Simancas; the location of ten of the documents is not given. Two serious errors in proof-reading may be noted: "1885" should be "1785" (I. 235); "LXXXIV." should be "XCIII." (II. 179).

For supplementing the *History of Missouri* for the general reader, which was the purpose of the editor, the *Spanish Régime* is interesting and adequate; as a contribution to Missouri history it is of undoubted value. It must be a matter of regret that Mr. Houck did not give a somewhat broader scope to his work and publish his original material in final form.

The Ohio Country between the Years 1783 and 1815, including Military Operations that Twice Saved to the United States the Country West of the Alleghany Mountains after the Revolutionary War. By Charles Elihu Slocum, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, pp. xviii, 321.) The subtitle given above serves to disarm the natural criticism of one who is expecting a comprehensive history of the "Ohio Country", whatever that ambiguous term may mean. The major portion of this work is devoted to the Indian wars in the Northwest Territory after 1783 and to the War of 1812, consequently the writer suffers in the inevitable comparison with Winsor, Roosevelt, McLaughlin, McMaster, and others who have treated at length these events of our military history, while he offers nothing of adequate contrast to their description of the political and economic life of the section and period, or to the more comprehensive treatment of their phases by Hinsdale, Dunn, and King. Yet while of inferior grade to these in scholarship and grasp of events, and because of annalistic character and an unfortunate literary style destined to gain less of popular favor than Moore or Matthews, the book is a fairly useful compilation.

Its unifying principle seems to be found in the miserable alliance of the British with the Northwestern Indians, but there is no clear logical analysis of the political and economic motives that led to this alliance nor of the international factors that fostered it for so many decades. As is to be expected from a local antiquarian, he overemphasizes the part played by his section, without, however, giving it the proper diplomatic or national setting. The writer displays throughout a strong prejudice against the British and in contrast is more than favorable in his treatment of Wayne and of Harrison. He gives, however, an excellent summary of Wayne's diplomatic work among the Indians after the battle of Fallen Timbers. His chapter-headings may be criticized for a lack of clearness, and, occasionally, of good taste. His sparing use of footnotes, and the indefinite character of the few that appear, are regrettable, for he has evidently used to advantage certain of the printed and manuscript sources. He displays an occasional pedantry, especially in his use of the term "aborigines", a practice that becomes a serious fault in his employment of "aborigine" as an adjective, and in his introduction of both terms into direct quotations from original sources.

As might be expected the index emphasizes "Aborigines", "British", "Forts", and "Rivers", and seems to be a ready key to the numerous facts brought together in the volume. The latter contains neither maps nor illustrations. The general reader will find it of value for reference, but it is far from being the comprehensive history which this period and section need.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Volume XVI. 1780, January 1-May 5. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910, pp. vii, 414.) Mr. Hunt continues this series upon the lines laid down by his predecessor, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and in the same admirable manner. The journal of 1780, when all the passages omitted in the earlier edition have been supplied, is evidently a voluminous document, for the present volume brings us only to May 5; but Mr. Hunt says that it is less extensive than that of 1779, and that the whole material for each of the subsequent years is still less. Among the most interesting matters in the present volume are the action of Congress respecting the court of appeals in prize cases; its action on March 18 in recommending to the states that the Continental bills of credit should be called in and that a new currency should be substituted, based on the funds of the individual states, backed by the credit of the United States; and the appeal to the states, April 24, to do more of their duty in respect to requisitions. An interesting matter of procedure (and the procedure of the Continental Congress deserves more study, on account of its subsequent influence, than it has yet had) is exhibited on pages 29, 147, 261, and elsewhere, namely, the use of the previous question to defer a substantial vote—the old English use of this device rather than the modern American use.

Biographical Story of the Constitution: a Study of the Growth of the American Union. By Edward Elliott, Professor of Politics in Princeton University. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, pp. xi, 400.) The evolution of the Constitution of the United States has been largely a process of interpretation and adaptation. Specific changes have been wrought through amendment and interpretation. Professor Elliott, moreover, recognizes two lines of constitutional interpretation—interpretation by the courts and interpretation by statesmen. The *Biographical Story of the Constitution* is a history of the growth of the Constitution of the United States through the process of interpretation and adaptation by leading American statesmen. That the extent and importance of judicial interpretation in the development of the Constitution are not undervalued by the author is clearly seen in chapter VI., in which he considers the constitutional views of John Marshall. But this book does not deal with the "finely elaborated doctrines of the courts"; its

chief purpose is to trace the progress of the Constitution through the ideas of men who have been active in the political life of the nation.

"In every generation of our national life", says Professor Elliott, "there have been men who typified the thought and feeling of the time. Some of them have been creators of the ideas associated with their names; others have been merely the embodiment of general doctrines which seemed to be floating in the air, while still others have given expression to the reactionary tendencies of their day; but in all of them and through all of them we may trace the progress of the Constitution. They typify the views of successive generations upon the great constitutional questions, and by their lives we can measure the stages of advance, now slow, now fast, as the forces at play are halting or quick; as peace or war, economic welfare or crisis, social rest or unrest, holds the reins of the car of progress."

The first chapter of Professor Elliott's book, which deals with the ideas of the "Fathers"—that is, of the men who framed the written Constitution—is characterized as Inception through Compromise. Then follow eleven chapters each of which is devoted to the political and constitutional views of some commanding figure who typifies the thought and feeling of his time. Moreover, the author has characterized the contents of each chapter with happy phrases in the titles. Indeed, the scope and contents of the eleven chapters are best described by the chapter-titles, which read as follows: Alexander Hamilton: Growth through Administrative Organization; James Wilson: Growth through Speculative Forecast; Thomas Jefferson: Growth through Acquiescence; James Madison: Growth through Formulation; John Marshall: Growth through Legal Interpretation; Andrew Jackson: Growth through Democratization; Daniel Webster: Growth through Rising National Sentiment; John C. Calhoun: Retardation through Sectional Influence; Abraham Lincoln: Growth through Civil War; Thaddeus Stevens: Growth through Reconstruction; and Theodore Roosevelt: Growth through Expansion. The appendix, which covers one hundred and six pages, contains documents illustrative of the theories concerning which there has been the greatest difference of individual opinion.

Notwithstanding the evident temptations to overstatement, the treatment throughout the volume is sane and logical. Every chapter shows careful study and analysis. The style is readable and the format pleasing. The book should attract the general reader who is interested in American history and politics. It may be found useful in our colleges and universities as an introduction to American political theory.

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH.

John Chambers. By John Carl Parish. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1909, pp. xv, 279.) John Chambers was the second of the three governors of Iowa Territory. Born in New Jersey, trained

in Kentucky, and a political factor in Iowa, his life is a good example of the westward trend of his times.

It is a relief to read a biography so free from superlatives as is this one. The author makes no claim that his subject was peerless. He tells in a simple way the main facts in regard to the life, largely political, of John Chambers. The topics treated have a frontier character. Typical are the relief laws passed by the Kentucky legislature, the unsatisfactory trial of Isaac B. Desha, the doings during the Log Cabin Campaign, the treaties with the Iowa Indians, and the boundary disputes.

The author has done his work well, yet the number of scholars who will be interested in the book will not be great. This is true because John Chambers was the leader in few events of national importance and those few are more fully described elsewhere. Intelligent readers in Iowa and Kentucky will be interested, and libraries which have an extensive collection of historical biographies should purchase the volume.

Pages 205-263 contain notes and references. The latter show wide research and cite the reader to some rare printed and manuscript material. In a few cases too much attention is given to trivial family matters. It is questionable whether "an insight into the domestic nature and habits of Chambers" or a knowledge of whether he took any of his children to Iowa with him in 1841 (p. 241) is of real importance. The use of the abbreviation "ibid." would have saved much reprinting of titles (pp. 209, 217).

The press work on the volume is most excellently done. The portrait of John Chambers is unusually clear.

History of Labor Legislation in Iowa. By E. H. Downey. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1910, pp. xi, 283.) This study presents an historical outline of labor legislation in Iowa, and incidentally of the industrial development of the state as well. Each chapter treats of a single important subject of statutory regulation—Wages, Convict Labor, Mine Labor, Railway Labor, Factory Laws, Child Labor, Employers' Liability, and Miscellaneous. In discussing these topics, Mr. Downey first describes industrial conditions in each particular field at the time attempts to improve it were begun and narrates the events leading up to and accompanying the passage of the various laws directed against existing evils. Next he summarizes the measures actually adopted and tells how they worked in practice and what amendments suggested by their operation were made from time to time. Finally he analyzes the legislation now in force, points out its gaps and deficiencies, and calls attention to certain needs for additional regulation that are as yet unsatisfied. The last chapter gives an account of the establishment and activities of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics. Finally, there is an appendix that contains a review of the labor laws passed by the legislature of 1909, which held its sessions after the completion of the main portion of the *History*.

The author's treatment of his subject-matter is logical and well balanced. Instead of encumbering his pages with minute and exhaustive abstracts of the various statutes considered, he wisely contents himself with comparatively brief statements of the objects intended to be effected by them, and of the methods employed for the purpose, leaving the reader to consult for details the published laws as cited in the notes. In this manner he has rendered his narrative comprehensible and readable—qualities that are not always found in a work of this character.

It is unnecessary at this day to point out the value of these state legislative histories. They are similar, in their scope and uses, to the laboratory manuals of physical scientists. The present work is a very satisfactory specimen of its class. By rendering accessible the experience of Iowa in grappling with industrial problems that are in a general way common to all of the states, Mr. Downey's book should gain a warm welcome from all students of economic and sociological developments in America.

J. WALLACE BRYAN.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Volume III. *Great Fortunes from Railroads.* (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1910, pp. 413.) In the first volume of this series the great land fortunes were considered; the present volume continues the history, begun in the second, of the fortunes amassed by railroad magnates. The references to official state documents amply justify the author's claim to "many earnest years of original research". Credit must certainly be given him for unearthing much valuable material. Yet his work will have to be done over again by a writer of equal industry and courage but with higher regard for authenticated fact and with more dispassionate style, whose work will appeal more strongly to scholars of every stamp as well as to the "academician, strong in the audacity of his soporific mediocrity", whose criticism Mr. Myers specifically deprecates. The treatment of the land frauds in the newly acquired territory after the Mexican War is commendable; the index, too, covering the three volumes, is helpful. But, on the whole, the volume is inferior even to its two predecessors. There is the same thesis that "no honest fortune" has been discovered, more Socialistic rant, more unsupported statements, more glaring instances of lack of scholarship; nor is there the connected study that might be expected from one who has covered so much original material, but rather a string of disjointed incidents. Much of the text is superficial, as, for example, the treatment of the Cleveland bond issue of 1895, the insurance investigations of 1905, and the organization of the United States Steel Corporation; the account of the panic of 1907 is taken entirely from a heated partizan speech in Congress, while "a story" that "was current" is made use of to explain the absorption of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by the steel trust. Lastly, the attempt to prove that the Hill fortune has

been corruptly accumulated rests entirely upon unproved assumptions and defamatory allegations. It is such weaknesses as these that invalidate the book and render it unsound as history.

EMERSON DAVID FITE.

The Indian and his Problem. By. Francis E. Leupp. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. xiv, 369.) Mr. Leupp has produced an interesting study of the Indian and a trustworthy exposition of his problem. For the serious student the first half of the book is of value and much more important than the second, which is general in character.

The keynote to the book and to the problem of to-day is how to make of the Indian a self-supporting, honest citizen, able to stand on his own feet. Indians are no longer treated en masse but individually. The Dawes Severalty Law (1887) and the Burke Act (1906) illustrate the difference between the old idea and the new. According to the former an Indian, on taking up land, received a patent-in-trust and became a citizen, while under the latter provision citizenship is postponed until the patent-in-fee is issued, and that is not done until the Secretary of the Interior has reason to believe that the applicant is qualified for the new duties and will make good use of his land.

The educational policy has also undergone some changes. As against the idea of taking the Indian child from the reservation, implanting within him a hatred for things Indian, teaching him a white man's occupation or profession and finally losing him among the white people, the present policy believes in keeping him on the reservation and training him in some occupation which he can use in making a living.

Friends of the Indian appreciate the good that Mr. Leupp has done; but they must differ with him on many points. One meets "my programme" and "my plan" so often that the impression is left that Mr. Leupp is the originator of the ideas which he put in practice. Some of them were advocated by other men before he came into office, especially the school policy. In one place he says that government schools accomplish far less than mission schools, "as proportioned to outlay". One would like to know what standard and what mission schools he has in mind. This serious and sweeping charge is supported not by facts but by mere opinions which are far from convincing. When he comes to the question of Indian treaties he takes a view which is, to say the least, interesting. Mr. Leupp denies that treaties were ever broken and goes on to explain "that most of the sins of the Government in this respect went to no greater depth than its omission to volunteer to the Indians suggestions which it would never have thought of volunteering in a similar transaction with people of any other race". His attitude seems to be that the object to be kept in view is the good of the Indian and the keeping of a promise is of minor importance.

F. A. GOLDER.

My Friend the Indian. By James McLaughlin, United States Indian Inspector. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910, pp. xiii, 417.) In this book Mr. McLaughlin, Indian agent and inspector since 1871, gives the inside workings of an agency, portrays Indian character, and throws light on the Indian policy of the past and present. Sitting Bull, Chief Gall, Crazy Horse, Chief Joseph, and other well-known red men Mr. McLaughlin has met and talked with and he is therefore unusually well qualified to present the Indian's side of the case. It is for this reason that his chapters on Custer's Last Fight and other Indian campaigns are of importance.

The other great value of the book lies in that it gives the agent's point of view of the Indian question; for the author does not always see or appreciate the other side. His mind unconsciously refuses to admit that anyone not officially connected with the service knows or has a right to speak of the Indian. Having no conception of the scientists' methods of investigation he ridicules these men by referring to them as "the learned gentlemen who have provided the Indian with a system of theology and rich mythology" which he did not have before. The historian is slurred at in a somewhat similar way.

His enthusiasm and confidence lead him to make sweeping statements difficult to explain and still harder to prove. "I believe the Indian was a man before outrage and oppression made him a savage." Virtues which apply to one or two tribes are stretched to cover all Indians: the Indians "hold nothing more sacred than the purity of a maiden". The Indian's virtues are judged by the white man's standard, his vices by the Indian's, which is almost the same as saying that he has no vices. The book is an important one but its conclusions must be compared with other studies and other opinions before they can be accepted.

F. A. GOLDER.

Autos de Fe de la Inquisición de México con Extractos de sus Causas, 1646-1648. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, publicados por Genaro García. Tomo XXVIII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1910, pp. 275.) The present is the twenty-eighth volume of a very useful series of *Documents relating to the History of Mexico*. Like its predecessors it is well printed, contains facsimiles of the title-pages of the rare early books whence its material is derived, and has the merit to the student of being inexpensive. It records in all about one hundred cases finally dealt with by the Inquisition of Mexico during the years 1646-1648. Of these, thirteen were offenses against the Church or morality—exercising priestly functions without having taken orders, etc. One culprit, Alejo de Castro, was a follower of the sect of the "accursed Mahomet", and another—a free mulatto woman—had "made a pact with the Devil".

The overwhelming majority of cases—eighty-four in number—were

those of Jews, variously called new Christians, Judaizers, observers of the laws of Moses. This comparatively large number of Jews gives the key to the activities of the Inquisition not only in Mexico but in the other states of the American continent in which the "Holy Office" flourished.

A body of material is gradually being made available for the history of the Inquisition in Mexico and light is being shed on the considerable part played by the Jewish exiles from Spain and Portugal in the development of Spanish America. Some of the accused Jews were even the children of these exiles and were natives of Peru and other American countries. The intimate relation between Mexico and the Philippines at an early period is apparent from the evidence given in these trials.

CYRUS ADLER.

TEXT-BOOK

Landmarks of British History. By Lucy Dale. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1910, pp. x, 256.) The story of the development of the British Empire could hardly be better set forth for young readers. Few books so consistently compel the reader to understand the facts of history; fewer still give such a unifying impression of connected and inevitable progress. With rare common-sense, changes in British history are traced to fundamental forces, the pressure of common human needs and desires, the clash of strong personalities, the drive of human aspirations. Throughout, economic forces, expressed in non-technical terms—the division of labor, the shifting of industries with the discovery of new producing areas and new markets, the improvement in standards of living—are made the key to political and social progress.

The style is easy, familiar, natural. It is marked by felicities of expression and happy generalizations, provocative of thought. "The Tudors had a gift for knowing when to stop." "The Puritan soldiers were a particularly tiresome kind." "It is no use making laws when the facts are against you." Nelson's plan of aggressive defense was "like locking up the burglar instead of locking up your house". Such expressions are mordant. They illuminate history.

Errors of fact are rare. It was not *Saint* Augustine who preached to Ethelbert (p. 23). Cadiz harbor was not "destroyed" by Elizabeth's fleet (p. 134). Richard III. "seems to have spent nearly the whole of his two years' reign in murdering people" (p. 112) sounds like Dickens.

The chief fault of the book is its lack of emphasis. "Landmarks" should stand out in the landscape, and the great crises in British political history, such as Magna Charta and the Revolution of 1688, should receive fuller treatment. The total effect would be less hazy if there were paragraph-headings, or at least subdivisions within the chapters, and succinct summaries. Still more unfortunate is the lack of an index.

ALBERT PERRY WALKER.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association for 1910 will be held in Indianapolis, December 28-31. The headquarters will be at the Claypool Hotel, and nearly all the sessions will be held there or in the immediate vicinity. Successive periods on the morning of Wednesday, December 28, have been set apart for meetings of committees and of the Council; the presidential address by Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University will be delivered on the evening of the same day. In recognition of the semi-centennial of Secession, two sessions will be devoted to the United States in 1860, one group of papers dealing with the South and one with the North. There will also be one or two general sessions on European history. The conferences of workers in special fields which have been a prominent feature of the programme in recent years will be continued with some changes. The conferences of archivists and of state historical societies, and those on ancient, medieval, and modern European history, respectively, will be held as last year. Two additional conferences have been planned, one on diplomatic history and South American relations, and one for teachers of history in teachers' colleges and normal schools. Arrangements have also been made for the meeting in Indianapolis during the same week of three important sectional societies, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Society, and the North Central History Teachers' Association.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will hold its next meeting on November 18 and 19, at the University of California.

The illness and death of Professor Garrison have delayed the printing of volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1908 (Texan Diplomatic Correspondence, II.), but it may be expected in the winter, volume I. having been distributed in September. The *Annual Report* for 1909, one volume, is ready for the printer.

The International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, in the organization of which the American Historical Association participated through its Public Archives Commission, was held in Brussels, August 29-31. The Association was represented in the section of archivists by four delegates: Messrs. Gaillard Hunt, A. J. Van Laer, Dunbar Rowland, and W. G. Leland, Mr. Hunt being also the official delegate of the United States government. Papers were read by Mr. Hunt on the principles which should govern the transfer of records from govern-

mental departments to the archive depot, having especial reference to the transfer of such material to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress; and by Mr. Leland on the work of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association. Papers were also presented by Mr. Henry E. Woods, Public Record Commissioner of Massachusetts, on the measures taken in that state to ensure the preservation of local records, and by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, on the centralization of national archives. A full report of the congress, with especial reference to the points brought out in the discussion that are of interest to American archivists, will be presented by Mr. Van Laer at the Conference of Archivists to be held in December in connection with the annual meeting of the Association.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* the volume of *Narratives of Early Maryland*, edited by Mr. Clayton C. Hall, is published by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons early in October.

PERSONAL

Professor Goldwin Smith died at Toronto on June 7, at the age of eighty-six, having retained to the last, almost unimpaired, the extraordinary vigor of mind and the literary gifts which had so long made him a figure of commanding influence in both Canada and the United States. Born in 1823, and educated at Oxford, he was regius professor of modern history at that University from 1858 to 1866. Resigning on account of his father's condition of health, he came to the United States in 1868 and taught for two or three years at Cornell University, with which he long maintained a connection. Living in Toronto from 1871 to the end of his life, he wrote extensively on historical and political themes, always expressing himself with perfect independence, with great incisiveness, and in a style seldom surpassed in clearness and force. His chief historical works were, *Three English Statesmen* (1867), *A Brief History of the United States* (1893), *The United Kingdom* (1899), and *Irish History and the Irish Question* (1905). But so wide was his range, so varied and keen his intellectual interests, so clear and forcible the workings of his mind, that he will have a high place in the records of this generation not solely as an historian but as an essayist, a publicist, and a university reformer. He was president of the American Historical Association in 1904-1905.

Léopold Delisle, general administrator of the Bibliothèque Nationale from 1874 to 1905, died at Chantilly July 22, aged eighty-three. He had been connected with that library for more than fifty years, and had been since 1857 a member of the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres. Unsurpassed as a student of manuscripts, he contributed to historical and philological science several hundred articles and several books, mostly bearing on the medieval history of France, the books being chiefly documentary volumes or catalogues of manuscripts.

The death of Henry Harrisse, May 13, at the age of about eighty, is reported from Paris, where he had lived for many years, occupied with studies in the history of the discovery and the early exploration of America. The name of his publications in this period is legion, and they have been of exceptional influence. The most important of them were, aside from those strictly bibliographical in character, his *Christophe Colomb* (1884-1885), his *Discovery of North America* (1892), and his *John and Sebastian Cabot* (1896). His fame was deserved by exactness of scholarship and unusual range in the search for materials, but was perhaps heightened by controversies to which his outspokenness and pungency of expression gave frequent rise, and in which he took evident delight.

John Austin Stevens, who died on June 16, aged eighty-three, was the editor of the *Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce*, and the author of books on the Burgoyne campaign, on the expedition of Lafayette against Arnold, and on the French in Rhode Island, but is chiefly deserving of commemoration in this journal as the founder and for many years the editor of the *Magazine of American History*, which, established in 1876, was throughout the period of his editorship a worthy representative of American historical studies, especially in respect to the period of the Revolution.

Professor George P. Garrison of the University of Texas died in Austin on July 3, at the age of fifty-six. After studying at the universities of Edinburgh and Chicago, he began in 1888 at the University of Texas a period of teaching and of editorial work in connection with the Texas State Historical Association of which it is not too much to say that he exerted more influence than all preceding students had ever exerted for the advancement and improvement of studies respecting the history of that state. This was done through his university teaching, through the editing of the *Quarterly* of the association named, through guidance of its general activities, through his book on Texas in the *American Commonwealth* series (1903), through his volume entitled *Westward Extension*, in Professor Hart's series (1906), and through the editing of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, published by the American Historical Association, of which he had partly seen a second and concluding volume through the press at the time of his decease. Besides his usefulness to history, he will be remembered as a man of exceptionally solid and winning character.

Miss Gertrude Selwyn Kimball of Providence died in that city on June 20. She was the editor of a volume entitled *Pictures of Rhode Island in the Past* (1899), of two volumes of the *Colonial Correspondence of the Governors of Rhode Island* (1902, 1903), of the *Correspondence of William Pitt, when Secretary of State, with Colonial Governors*, etc. (1906), and left nearly completed a skilfully written history of

Providence. She was a woman of remarkable intelligence, wit, and social charm.

Cyrus Thomas, noted as an archaeologist, died on June 26, aged nearly eighty-five. He had been connected with the United States Bureau of Ethnology as archaeologist since 1882, and was the author of various works on the Cherokees and Shawnees, on the Indians of North America in general, and especially on Maya and Mexican manuscripts and archaeology.

Professor Paul S. Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin is to be the Theodore Roosevelt professor of American history and institutions in the University of Berlin for the year 1911-1912. He will lecture upon the subject of the Expansion of the United States. Meanwhile Professor Ernst Daenell will be Kaiser Wilhelm professor at Columbia University.

Professor Frank G. Bates of the University of Kansas has accepted the position of librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and is also to give courses in Brown University during the coming year.

Mr. J. Nelson Norwood has been elected associate professor of history and political science at Alfred University, and begins work there this autumn.

Assistant Professor Robert M. McElroy of Princeton University has been made professor of American history.

Professor William R. Manning of George Washington University will hereafter be associate professor of history in the University of Texas.

Dr. Edgar H. McNeal of the Ohio State University has leave of absence for the academic year 1910-1911.

GENERAL

The Berlin Historical Society has just brought out the thirty-first issue of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1910, pp. 259, 483, 427, 300), being the volume for 1908, edited by Dr. Georg Schuster. The portions of history which have their turn for bibliographical treatment in this volume are the histories of Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Rome, Germany under the Carolingians, the Ottos and the Salian emperors, and in 1648-1740 and 1815-1908, several German states, Austria, Hungary, Venetia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, the Byzantine Empire, the Crusades, China, Japan, Canada, medieval France, and medieval Denmark and Norway. General *Kulturgeschichte* and early and medieval church history are also dealt with. United States history, together with that of most of the other countries not named above, remains over for later volumes.

A new treatise on historical method appears from the house of Weidmann in Berlin—Gustaf Wolf's *Einführung in das Studium der neueren*

Geschichte (1910, pp. xxvi, 793). As the title indicates, the author, in view of the special reference of the older books to the problems of medieval research, aims to deal especially with those pertaining to modern history. M. Paul Darmstaedter (*Revue Historique*, July-August), while speaking in the highest terms of the work, calls attention to the singular fact that practically no attention is given to American history or American historical labor. After an introduction dealing mainly with the modern development of historical study, the author treats his material in two books under the titles *Die Tradition* and *Die Überreste*. The former has the following subdivisions: "Die technischen Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen Geschichtschreibung" (Postwesen, Buchdruckerkunst, Buchhandel, Bibliothekswesen); "Geschichtsschreiber als Geschichtsquelle"; "Das Zeitungswesen"; "Die Memoiren"; "Enzyklopedien", etc. The latter book is divided into "Arten der Akten"; "Geschichte eines einzelnen Aktenstückes" (here archives are dealt with); "Aktenpublikationen". It is evident that if the work is well done this treatise will be of great usefulness.

In the *History Teachers' Magazine* for September the most important article is one on the preparation of the teacher of history in high schools, by Mr. Haven W. Edwards, of the high school of Oakland, California.

Band XIII., heft I, of the *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* of the Royal Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has been issued. The *Jahresbericht* of the society bears witness to much activity and the volume contains some solid studies, particularly that by Philip Hildebrandt, "Die Römische Kurie und die Protestanten in der Pfalz, in Schlesien, Polen und Salzburg". The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* gives in its April issue, pp. 427-429, detailed information concerning the activities of the various foreign schools of historical research at Rome.

Father H. Holzapfel's *Manuale Historiae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1909, pp. xxii, 662), a work prepared at the instance of the minister general of the Franciscans, is recommended by the highest scholarly Franciscan authority as a standard general manual of the history of the order. We have already mentioned (XV. 202) the German version.

The representatives of *Kulturgeschichte* in Germany are at present suffering from an unusually acute attack of internal dissension as to the nature and scope of their work. While W. Goetz and G. Steinhausen have been engaging in sharp but polite discussion, both seem ready to join with Lamprecht's older enemies in less politely assailing him and his "Leipziger Institut"; they are ready to charge him apparently not only with views so erroneous as to be dangerous to society, but with serious pedagogical delinquencies. The views of Professor Goetz will be found in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII. 1, and a reply from Lamprecht, with a rejoinder by Goetz, *ibid.*, VIII. 2.

Before the end of the year 1909 two new journals for the study of prehistoric man began publication simultaneously in Germany. One, the *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, is the organ of the Berlin and the German societies for anthropology, ethnology, and *Urgeschichte*, of the administration of the royal museums, etc. It is edited by C. Schuchardt of Berlin, K. Schumacher of Mainz, and H. Seger of Breslau, and is published in Berlin. The other is entitled *Mannus* (Würzburg, Curt Kabitzzsch), is edited by Professor Gustaf Kossinna of Berlin, and is the organ of him and his followers of the *Gesellschaft für Vorgeschichte*. It opens with an able but acrimonious article by him on the "Indo-germanic question" considered from the point of view of archaeology. It appears that the "Indogermans" set out from western Europe, that all the dicta of comparative philologists upon the question hitherto have been worthless (*hinfalliges Kartenhaus*), and that the *kleine Schreiergruppe der Nichtethnologen* are actuated either by ignorance or by obstinate unwillingness to learn. Professor Oscar Montelius follows with an article on the cross as a pre-Christian emblem, M. Devoir with one on prehistoric astronomy in western Europe and calculations of the antiquity of certain monuments through reasonings based on the precession of the equinoxes.

The *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, band XXXI., heft 2, is accompanied as *Beiblatt* by no. 3 of the *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, devoted to reviews of important publications of 1909 in the field of the history of art.

In *Organismic Theories of the State* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXXVIII., no. 2, pp. 209) Dr. F. W. Croker considers in the order of their development those interpretations of the state as organism or as person which have been published during the nineteenth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. G. Picavet, *Commentateurs et Adversaires du Matérialisme Historique* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April); G. Caro, *Zur Quellenkunde der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (*Deutsche Geschichtsblätter*, XI. 5); P. Lacombe, *L'Appropriation Privée du Sol* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Greek Archaeology, by Professors Harold N. Fowler and James R. Wheeler (New York, American Book Company, 1909, pp. 559, 412 figures), is a comprehensive survey of the whole subject, recommended as a standard general introduction.

Mr. Richard B. Seager's *Excavations on the Island of Psira* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1910, pp. 38, with plates and a folding map) describes the results of excavations carried through upon an island two miles off the coast of Crete, on which the ruins of a Minoan town were discovered.

The *Bulletin* of the Archaeological Institute of America for May (I. 3) announces the grant to the institute of a firman for excavation in Cyrene. This undertaking is due to the initiative of the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton; fifteen thousand dollars a year for three years is now provided for it, and the work is placed under the direction of A. V. Armour, A. Fairbanks, and D. G. Hogarth. This *Bulletin* reprints the presidential address delivered at the first general meeting of the institute, in December, 1899, by its founder Professor Norton.

In the *Revue Archéologique*, January-February, 1910, G. Ferrero and C. Jullian present opposing views of the date of the annexation of Gaul, the former pronouncing for 57-56 B. C., and the latter defending the older date 51-50.

The Macmillan Company will issue this autumn *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, by Professor William S. Davis.

Messrs. Weidmann of Berlin have issued a new edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, by Professor Charles U. Clark of Yale University, prepared under the direction of the Prussian Academy. The first volume gives the text; the second, which is promised shortly, will contain an elaborate index and a full discussion of the manuscripts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Manilius, *Das stehende Heer der Assyrikerkönige und seine Organisation* (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IV. 1, 2); F. Delitzsch, *Ashurbanipal und die Assyrische Kultur seiner Zeit* (*Altes Orient*, XI. 1); Alfred Loisy, *La Notion du Sacrifice dans l'Antiquité Israélite* (*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1910, 1); G. W. Botsford, *Constitution and Politics of the Bocotian League* (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); K. Witte, *Über die Form der Darstellung in Livius Geschichtswerk* (*Rheinisches Museum*, LXV. 2); J. Declareuil, *Quelques Problèmes d'Histoire des Institutions Municipales au Temps de l'Empire Romain*, VII. (*Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, XXXIV. 2); Franz Cumont, *La Propagation du Manichéisme dans l'Empire Romain* (*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1910, 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In its *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum* the Vienna Academy has issued as volume LIV. (pp. vi, 708) the first part of the Epistles of St. Jerome, clearly edited by Dr. Isidor Hilberg and including epistles 1-70. The second volume, epp. 70-120, is promised for next year. The index and prolegomena, completing the work, will follow two years later.

Tom. XXIX., fasc. 1, 2, of the *Analecta Bollandiana* gives a summary (pp. 1-116) of "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo", with an historical introduction and an index. The introduction explains that the *légendier* is the more elaborate of the two sorts of medieval hagiographical collections, the other being the martyrology, and that this latter (in-

tended particularly for use in the liturgical services) is distinguished by invariably following the order of the liturgical year instead of that of the calendar, as well as by being briefer. The differences between the two classes of collections, however, gradually diminished especially through a tendency to abridge the *legendiers*. That of Pierre Calo seems to belong to the second quarter of the fourteenth century; it contains 863 notices of saints, of very varying extent, only about fifteen of which have hitherto been published.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); A. Harnack, *Das ursprüngliche Motiv der Abfassung von Martyrer- und Heilungsakten in der Kirche* (Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1910, 6, 7); W. Thimme, *Grundlinien der geistigen Entwicklung Augustins* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, May).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An interesting and as yet but slightly investigated subject is dealt with in a recent issue (heft XIII.) of *Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte* by M. Maria Schalz, under the title *Die Lehre von der Historischen Methode bei den Geschichtsschreibern des Mittelalters, VI.—XIII. J.* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1909, pp. vi, 143). The author claims for the medieval historians much more historical science (that is to say, a closer accord with present-day tenets) than has usually been attributed to them. There should be considered in connection with this a recent study by B. Schmeidler of Italian historiography in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *Italienische Geschichtsschreiber des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. viii, 88) in the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, XI. This author emphasizes the differences he claims to find between the Italian medieval historians and contemporary ones in other countries, ascribing to the former a desire rather to amuse than to instruct and consequently a greater attention to the personal side.

An interesting contribution to the intellectual history of the medieval period is a *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* by Dr. Martin Grabmann, of which volume I., *Die scholastische Methode von ihren ersten Anfängen in der Väterliteratur bis zum Beginn des 12. J.*, has been published (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1909, pp. xiii, 354). It is a defense of scholasticism from the standpoint of modern Catholicism.

Two volumes, by Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor, entitled *The Mediæval Mind*, dealing with the intellectual and emotional phenomena shown in the literature, philosophy, and life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, will shortly be issued by the Macmillan Company.

In Professor Walter Goetz's series, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, the latest hefts, 6 and 7, are

Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 360), by Paul Joachimsen, and *Die Podestàliteratur Italiens im 12. u. 13. Jahrhundert* (pp. 86), by Fritz Hertter. Shortly to appear is *Die Bettelorden und das religiöse Volksleben Ober- und Mittelitaliens im 13. Jahrhundert*, by H. Hefele.

Constable has published *A Medieval Garner: Human Documents from the four Centuries preceding the Reformation*, selected, translated, and annotated by G. G. Coulton. This editor is already favorably known for work of this kind, and this volume will probably prove a useful addition to the equipment of the teacher of medieval history. All kinds of medieval writings, from six different languages, are represented with the object of presenting daily life.

An important contribution to the history of the Third Crusade is made by Miss Kate Norgate in the *English Historical Review* for July, in a detailed examination of the relations to one another of the two chief forms in which students have used the main Western narrative, the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and the *Song of Ambrose*. The study is based on unpublished notes of the late T. A. Archer, and the writer through further research reaches the conclusion that the documents emanate from two close associates in the crusade, but that the former may be regarded as the original or main source.

The *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum*, begun last year by the Franciscans of Quaracchi near Florence, has justified itself by careful and valuable publication, and shows that the new activity in the order is of scientific quality. P. Sabatier's *Collection d'Études et de Documents sur l'Histoire Religieuse et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* has of late included some important new Franciscan material.

There appears in the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, second series, LXII. (Vienna, A. Holder, 1909), the second volume of the first series of the Correspondence of Pius II., edited by M. Wolkan and comprising the letters of Aeneas Sylvius, 1443-1445. There are 118 documents, 57 being formerly unpublished; they are for the most part official or quasi-official, written in pursuance of the orders of the emperor or his chancellor.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Hilliger, *Schilling und Denar der Lex Salica* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, III. 3); M. Conrat (Cohn), *Arbor Iuris des früheren Mittelalters* (Abhandlungen der K. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe, 1909); F. Lot, *La Frontière de la France et de l'Empire sur le Cours Inférieur de l'Escaut du IX^e au XII^e Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-April); L. B. Dibben, *Secretaries in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (English Historical Review, July); J. G. Hagen, S. J., *Die Fabel von der Kometenbulle* (Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXXVIII. 413).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

President Andrew D. White publishes this autumn (Century Company) a volume entitled *Seven Great Statesmen*, dealing with the careers of Sarpi, Grotius, Thomasius, Turgot, Stein, Bismarck, and Cavour.

Some of the leaders in German historical work have naturally been drawn of late into taking part in the discussion of relations with England. In addition to E. Marcks's *Einheitlichkeit der Englischen Auslandspolitik seit 1500*, noted in the July issue of this journal, Felix Salomon deals, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for April, with the English-German relations since 1870, and the *Deutsche Revue* for March contains an article by Bernhard Harms on the same subject.

Professor Joseph MacCaffrey of Maynooth Seminary has published a *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 1909, 2 vols., pp. 1061), the most extended single treatment of the period (1789-1908) from the Roman Catholic point of view yet published. Volume II. is devoted to Great Britain and Ireland, America, and Australia.

The twelfth volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*, treating the events of the last forty years, will soon be published by the Macmillan Company.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has now published (Paris, Gustave Ficker) the first two volumes (see vol. XV., p. 689) of the long-expected official series of documents entitled *Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre, 1870-1871*.

In the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for May-August, P. Mur  t makes an effort to appraise and present the results of the recent discussion between MM. Welschinger and Reinach in the *Journal des D  bats* and the *Temps* of some new material for the diplomatic history of the declaration of war in 1870, and for the relations later in the year between Prussia and the South German states. The conclusions of M. Muret on the first point seem to be unfavorable to the Gramont-Ollivier ministry, while on the second it is asserted that Bismarck was able to bring an unexpected pressure on the South German politicians in the matter of the completion of German unity because of compromising communications between them and French officials, seized by the Prussians in October at the Chateau de Cer  ay. The new material that has called forth this discussion is contained in the following recent publications: *R  ckblicke v. Freiherr v. Mittnacht, K. W  rtt. Staatsminister* (Stuttgart, 1909); *R  ckschau des kgl. W  rtt. Generals d. Inf. und Kriegsministers Albert v. Suckow* (T  bingen, 1909); A. v. Ruville, *Bayern und die Wiederaufrichtung des Deutschen Reiches* (Berlin, 1909); G. Kuntzel, *Bismarck u. Bayern in der Zeit der Reichsgr  ndung* (Frankfurt, 1909). A German treatment of the matter, in the form of a review of these publications, will be found in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for June, by Erich Brandenburg.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Richard, *Origines et Développement de la Secrétairerie d'État Apostolique, 1417-1823*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); L. Febvre, *L'Humanisme Chrétien, la Renaissance, et l'Eglise* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April); H. v. Voltolini, *Die Naturrechtlichen Lehren und die Reformen des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Historische Zeitschrift, CV. i); C. Varrentrapp, *Briefe an Ranke von älteren und gleichalterigen Deutschen und Französischen Historikern* (ibid.); F. C. Roux, *La Russie et la Politique Italienne de Napoléon III.*, I. (Revue Historique, September-October).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Athenacum* of August 6 has an interesting brief article on the Instruments of Manuscript Research, with special reference to English conditions. The writer, in speaking of the difficulties of the investigator in English archives, confesses that English archivists differ from Continental ones "in not being enamored of the art of cataloguing"; a defect which is not helped out by what is delicately referred to as "official reticence" with regard to the furnishing to the enquirer of such inventories as may exist.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for June, July, and August contains a list of the works relating to British genealogy and local history, the August intallment extending to the end of "C" in the alphabetical order of localities.

Father Edmund Hogan, S. J., has lately published (London, Williams and Norgate) a useful guide to Gaelic place-names: *Onomasticon Goedelicum Locorum et Tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae*.

Messrs. Nisbet and Company will publish this autumn a small book on the Peerage, by Mr. Geoffrey Ellis, a work considering the legal points where necessary, but mainly historical, discussing such matters as the creation of peerages, the privileges and legislative action of peers, and the procedure in adjudication of claims.

The St. Catherine Press published in July vol. I. of *The Complete Peerage*, being a revised and enlarged edition by the Hon. Vicary Gibbs (James Nesbit and Company, 1910, pp. 544), embracing "all peerage creations—English, Scottish, and Irish—extant, dormant, and extinct". Among the collaborators are G. E. Cokayne (Clarenceux king-at-arms and compiler of the first edition), Sir H. M. Lyte, deputy-keeper of the public records, J. Horace Round, and others of equal competence. The work will comprise twelve volumes and will be limited to 1000 sets.

The British Society of Franciscan Studies has published, as its second volume, *Fratris Johannis Peckham quondam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Tractatus tres de Paupertate*, carefully edited by Messrs. C. L. Kingsford, A. G. Little, and F. Tocco (Aberdeen, 1910, pp. viii, 198).

The London County Council has published the first volume, 1394-

1422, of the *Court Rolls of Tooting Beck Manor*, with introduction and notes by Mr. G. L. Gomme. To the translated text succeeds an appendix containing earlier rolls of the same manor, possessed by King's College, Cambridge.

The Society of the Middle Temple has published *Master Worsley's* (eighteenth-century) *Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple* (London, Chiswick Press), edited by Mr. Arthur R. Ingpen, who has supplied an introduction of much importance to students of the history of the Inns of Court. A similar value attaches to the two volumes of *The Pension-Book of Gray's Inn, 1559-1800* (*ibid.*), edited by R. J. Fletcher, "pensions" at Gray's Inn being the stated meetings of the Masters of the Bench.

Blackwood's Magazine for September describes a copy, recently discovered in the Lambeth Library, of "An Humble Supplication for Toleration", addressed to King James I. by his deprived ministers. It is apparently the king's own copy, since it contains private notes in his handwriting.

Among other publications relating to Quaker history in England and Wales, Headley Brothers of London announce *Extracts from the State Papers relating to Friends*, first series, 1654-1658, transcribed by Charlotte Fell Smith (1910, pp. 100).

John Murray has issued two volumes of letters of Gladstone, edited by D. C. Lathbury, *Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone* (1910). This selection has probably been suggested by the fact that Mr. Morley, for reasons explained in his introduction, omitted all special consideration of Mr. Gladstone as theologian or churchman. Mr. Lathbury was at one time editor of the *Guardian*; he fully shares the High Church views of Gladstone as well as his dislike of the connection between church and state.

A life of Disraeli in three volumes, from official sources, will be published by the Macmillan Company.

An interesting chapter in the development of the modern English press is told in Reginald Lucas's *Lord Glenesk and the Morning Post* (Alston Rivers, 1910). Lord Glenesk was the Algernon Borthwick who through fifty years' management brought the *Morning Post* to the proud position it occupies; he was one of the chief founders of the Primrose League, and in other ways prominent in the Conservative leadership.

The Cambridge University press has issued *Frederick William Maitland: a Biographical Sketch* by H. A. L. Fisher. This has been preceded, it will be remembered, by a briefer study by A. L. Smith; it will however be widely welcomed, especially as particular emphasis is placed on the setting-forth of a personality of unusual interest and attractiveness. Putnam's publish the book in the United States.

Messrs. Putnam announce a volume on *Controversial Issues in Scot-*

tish History, by W. H. Gregg; it will be illustrated and provided with more than three hundred facsimile reproductions from chronicles.

M. Rodolphe C. Escoufflaire's *La Démagogie Irlandaise, 1906-1909*, is the fruit of too short a period of study and of too partizan a mind (anti-Nationalist) to be regarded as of great historical importance.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI., VI., 1453-1460*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Busch, *Englands Kriege im Jahre 1513: Guinegate und Flodden*, II. (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, III. 3); H. L. Schoolcraft, *England and Denmark, 1660-1667* (*English Historical Review*, July); E. Bernhard, *Zur Psychologie des Englischen Geistes* (*Schmoller's Jahrbuch*, XXXIV. 1).

FRANCE

There has just been completed, with vols. XI. and XII., the publication of the Abbé Feret's *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus Célèbres* (Paris, Picard). This work comes down well into the nineteenth century; it is one of great industry and learning, and throws much light on the personal side of the history of French thought.

The last publication of M. Léopold Delisle was a phototypic edition of the *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital, Abbé de Savigni* (Paris, Champion), valuable as containing some two hundred specimens of handwriting of the same date (c. 1120).

In the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 3d ser., fasc. 1 (Paris, Fontemoing, 109, 208 columns), M. Jean Déprez has printed from the Vatican registers, in full or in summary, the letters of Innocent VI. relating to France: *Innocent VI. (1352-1362): Lettres Closes, Patentes et Curiales se rapportant à la France*.

The city of Rouen has just finished the publication of a series of analyses of the *Procès-Verbaux* of the deliberations of the municipality from 1389 to the end of 1893 (Rouen, Lecerf fils). After 1893 these deliberations appear in the *Bulletin Municipal*.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* for May 15 begins the publication of new studies on Jeanne d'Arc, by Gabriel Hanotaux. There is indeed no sign as yet of any diminution of the new scientific and popular interest in the immortal Maid; unhappily a good deal that is produced on the subject only bears further witness, and adds further force, to the continued distorting of French historical science by passion and prejudice in regard to certain topics. It is to be hoped that M. Hanotaux's well-known science and sanity will maintain themselves. Attention might be directed to the recent article by Marius Sepet in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for July, 1910, "Jeanne d'Arc et ses plus récents Historiens".

The Society for the Religious History of France has published a new volume of the French nunciatures, *Nonciatures de Paul IV. (avec la dernière Année de Jules III. et Marcel II.)*, tome I., *Nonciatures de Sebastiano Gualterio et de Cesare Brancatio (mai 1554-juillet 1557)*, pt. I. (Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1909), edited by Father Ancel, O.S.B.

Comte Baguenault de Puchesse has published the tenth and final volume of the *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1909, pp. xv, 662), a supplementary volume to the series begun in 1880, containing 887 additional letters.

Among the books in preparation by Sturgis and Walton Company are *Memoirs of the Duc de Lauzun; Recollections of an Officer of Napoleon's Army*, by Captain E. Blaize; *Memoirs relating to Fouché, Minister of Police under Napoleon*; and *Memoirs relating to the Empress Josephine*, by Georgette Ducrest.

It will be remembered that M. Albert Mathiez, having come to dissension with Aulard, was mainly instrumental in founding in 1907 a new Société des Études Robespierristes, and that *Les Annales Révolutionnaires*, edited by M. Mathiez, is the organ of the society. A later dissension in the new society has produced still another journal, the *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française*, edited by M. Ch. Vellay (Paris, 9 rue Saulnier).

Students of the French Revolution who may be harassed by the niceties of the Revolutionary Calendar will be interested in a note on this subject in *La Révolution Française* for July, by Paul Marichal, and especially in the tables accompanying it. These latter aim to meet any difficulty and are based on principles explained in the *Bulletin de l'École des Chartes*, LXVI. 547. It will be remembered that a *Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien*, by M. Pierre Caron, was published by the Société d'Histoire Moderne in 1905.

In the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* G. Gautherot presents a brief and decidedly anti-Jacobin estimate of the results of the recent publications of the Revolutionary *cahiers de doléances*. He contends that the fullest evidence has now been brought forward of the general untrustworthiness of all classes of the *cahiers* because of the overwhelming influence, in their production, of the small party of revolutionary agitators. Some interesting remarks on the same subject by Paul Darmstaedter will be found in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CV. 326-329; while acknowledging the existence of drawbacks to the full trustworthiness of the *cahiers*, he reaffirms strongly their great value. The matter is probably dismissed adequately in the statement of the reviewer for the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (May-June) that the evidence shows "que l'emploi qui a été fait des modèles n'est nullement une copie servile et qu'on les a suivis, non par indifférence ou complaisance, mais parce qu'on y trouvait bien exprimé

ce qu'on pensait soi-même". The most careful recent French review of the publications of *cahiers* and similar material is that by A. Vidier in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, January-April (pp. 139-152), descriptive and not controversial.

The city of Bordeaux has just published tome II. of the *Inventaire Sommaire* of its municipal archives for the Revolutionary period, the volume being edited by the municipal archivist M. Ducaunnès-Duval. There are included the deliberations of the general council of the commune, the *arrêtés* of the municipal bureau, and the correspondence of the municipality, partly in analyses and partly *in extenso*.

John Lane, London, announces for the autumn *Napoleon in Caricature, 1795-1821*, by A. M. Broadley, with an introductory essay by J. Holland Rose on "Pictorial Satire as a Factor in Napoleonic History". The subject is not a new one, but doubtless the older collections can now be much expanded. There will be two volumes and the representations will be both in colors and in black and white.

The French government has begun, by the issue of a volume of xxiv and 867 pages, extending from November 2, 1795, to March 20, 1796, the publication of a highly important and valuable series, *Recueil des Actes du Directoire Exécutif*, edited by Professor A. Debidour. The *procès-verbaux* of the sessions of the Directory will be published in their entirety, the full text of *arrêtés*, instructions, and letters when their importance requires it. The material is mostly new to historians. American students will be especially interested in the draft (pp. 748-754) of instructions to Citizen Vincent, 16 Ventôse year IV., when it was intended to send him as minister to the United States; in the demand for the recall of Van Berckel (p. 755); and in the memoir to General Pérignon on the retrocession of Louisiana to France, 26 Ventôse year IV., in which appear many of the same arguments as in Talleyrand's famous memoir of 1797 to the Institut National.

The Société d'Histoire Moderne, aroused by the representations of M. Frédéric Simon, has entered on steps looking to the securing of greater privileges in the examination of the judicial archives and especially those of the "Cours d'Appel", well known to contain most valuable material and at present apparently inaccessible for work after 1815. It would appear also that the prevailing conditions of conservation in these archives leave much to be desired.

An interesting echo of the past is conveyed to us in the *opuscule* issued recently by Honoré Champion, *La Conversion et la Mort de M. de Talleyrand; Récit de l'un des cinq Témoins, le Baron de Barante, recueilli par son Petit-Fils le Baron de Nervo* (Paris, 1910, pp. 29). This narrative was prepared by the Baron de Barante in September, 1908, and is now published posthumously. The death-bed repentance of Talleyrand is of course not now revealed for the first time; it is here asserted to have been received at Rome as entirely satisfactory.

A useful *Bibliographie des Journaux Normands qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Caen* is published by Gaston Lavalley, with an historical introduction (Caen, Delesques, pp. 106).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Sagnac, *La Politique Commerciale de la France avec l'Étranger, 1679-1713* (Revue Historique, July-August); F. Quessette, *La Fiscalité Royale en Bretagne de 1689 à 1715* (Annales de Bretagne, April); P. Bonnefon, *Quelques Inédits de ou sur Montesquieu* (Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, April-June); A. Bourguet, *Le Duc de Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole: un Ultimatum Franco-Espagnole au Portugal, 1761-1762* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, IV. 1); E. M. Sait, *Economic Aspects of the French Revolution* (Political Science Quarterly, June); R. Baticle, *Le Plébiscite sur la Constitution de 1793: les Amendements Administratifs, Religieux, Économiques* (La Révolution Française, April); P. Caron, *Les Publications Officieuses du Ministère de l'Intérieur en 1793 et 1794* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, May-June); P. Bordereau, *Bonaparte et la Route d'Ancone* (Revue des Études Historiques, July-August, 1909); E. Daudet, *La Police Politique sous la Restauration* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December, 1909-January, 1910); H. A. L. Fisher, *The Beginning and the End of the Second Empire* (Quarterly Review, July).

ITALY AND SPAIN

In connection with the World Exposition planned at Rome for 1911 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the city as the capital of the new Italy, it is proposed to organize at the Castle of S. Angelo a retrospective exposition of medieval and Renaissance art (1200-1600).

E. Loescher and Company, Rome, announce the beginning with the publications of 1909 of a *Bollettino Bibliografico delle Pubblicazioni Italiane e Straniere edita su Roma*, to comprise publications and articles of all kinds. This firm is also about to issue t. I. of vol. II. of the *Bibliografia Generale di Roma*, edited by Emilio Calvi, the title of this issue being *Bibliografia di Roma nel Cinquecento*.

Pagine di Storia Siciliana ordinate e postillate dal Professore Ludovicò Perroni-Grande con prefazione di G. A. Cesareo (Palermo, Ant. Trimarchi, 1910, pp. 288) is an interesting anthology of Sicilian history from the earliest times down to the present, containing 96 brief sketches, the greater number extracts from books and reviews, but a few especially written for this publication. The book is designed as a popular educational work; the last third relates to the period of the Risorgimento.

Professor Pasquale Villari's new historical work on *Mediaeval Italy*, translated by his daughter Mrs. Hulton, will be published this autumn by Fisher Unwin.

Students of the medieval Italian state will doubtless find much aid in E. Mayer's *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit bis zur Zunft Herrschaft* (Leipzig, A. Deschert, 1909, 2 vols., pp. xlviii, 464; xi, 598). The work is brought to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The author has already published similar studies for the same period in French and German history.

The Commission for the History of the University of Bologna has undertaken the publication of a *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*, to come down to 1500. Vol. I. is edited by L. Nordi and E. Orioli (Imola, P. Galeati, 1909, pp. xii, 429). The documents published have reference to the conditions of study and of life at the university, and are derived from official records of the municipality of Bologna and from monastic archives.

Ch. Dejob has published separately (Paris, Fontemoing, 1910, pp. 72) his papers of 1909-1910 in the *Bulletin Italien on Le Politicien à Florence au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècle*.

Mr. David W. Amram's *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (Philadelphia, Julius H. Greenstone) is a handsome and scholarly work, treating with much fullness a very interesting portion of typographical history.

The eighteenth-century conditions in northern Italy have had considerable new light cast on them through the work of Giuseppe Prato, and especially by his latest publication, *La Vita Economica in Piemonte a mezzo il Secolo XVIII*. (Turin, 1908, pp. xxvii, 470). The old view of the prosperous conditions under Charles Emanuel III. and the reality of his reforms, is confirmed by this study.

A general review of the literature of the Risorgimento down to 1846, by M. Georges Bourgin, is printed in the June number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*.

Mr. H. Nelson Gay has an interesting article in the *Nuova Antologia* for June 16 on "Il Secondo Esilio di Garibaldi (1849-1854)", based largely on materials hitherto unpublished.

A new life of Nino Bixio has been written by Cimbro Lazzarini and published by the Libreria L. Beltrami of Bologna. It is a compilation from published sources and has neither literary style nor critical method to recommend it. G. C. Abba's beautifully written *La Vita di Bixio*, published by the Società Tipografica Editrice Nazionale two years ago, renders the preparation of other biographies of the "Second of the Thousand" superfluous, until new documents become available—namely until the publication of Bixio's collected correspondence now in preparation by Professors Ersilio Michel of Leghorn and Ugo Oxilia of Savona. Bixio's papers were left to the national university library of Genoa two years ago by his son Camillo, constituting an important and hitherto almost untouched source for the Risorgimento historian.

At Brescia has been begun recently the publication of a bi-monthly bulletin of papers and documents concerning Brescian ecclesiastical history, under the title *Brescia Sacra*. The issues will be of 48 pages and the yearly subscription 5 lire. Notwithstanding the title, secular history it is understood will not be rigidly excluded.

The issues for November–December, 1909, and January–February, 1910, of the *University Studies* of the University of Cincinnati are devoted to the edition by Professor G. H. Allen of the Latin text of the municipal charter and laws of the city of Cuença, Spain, under the title *Forum Conche: Fuero de Cuença*. The editor's introduction informs us that the *fuero* in question, dating from the period 1189–1211, is believed to be the earliest of the more important *fueros* of Castile, and that it was of much importance in influencing and forming later grants to other cities. The Latin version is the original form, there being also a Romance one. While the publication of the document was undertaken at Madrid as early as 1783, no serious work has hitherto been done. The editor does not attempt historical or explanatory annotation but confines himself to the collation of the manuscripts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Manacorda, *Vittorio Emanuele II. e Garibaldi nel 1860 secondo le Carte Trecchi* (Nuova Antologia, June 1); A. Luzio, *Il Milione di Fucili e la Spedizione dei Mille* (La Lettura, April); A. Luzio, *Da Quarto a Palermo: il Diario e un Rapporto Ufficiale di Ippolito Nievo* (*ibid.*, May).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The next "Versammlung Deutscher Historiker" will occur at Easter, 1911, either at Hannover, Hildesheim, or Braunschweig.

The editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift* announce the addition to their ranks of Georg von Below and Erich Marcks.

Band XXXI., heft 1, of the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* gives (pp. 183–190) detailed information of the condition of the publishing undertakings of the following organizations: the Commission for the Modern History of Austria; the Bavarian Historical Commission; that of Baden; that for the province of Saxony and the duchy of Anhalt; and the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*.

The following new volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* have appeared: *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, I. 2, ed. Werminghoff; *Oesterreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, II., ed. Seemüller; *Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, V. 2, ed. Schwalm; *Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, IV. (Conrad II.), ed. Bresslau; *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, V. We may shortly expect in the section of *Leges* a new edition of the *Lex Salica*, ed. Krammer, the *Libri Carolini*, ed. Bastgen, completing the series of *Concilia*,

and in the school series new editions of Adam of Bremen and Otto of Freisingen.

The *Revue Historique* for July–August contains a general review of the publications of 1907–1909 in German medieval history, by M. Vigener.

The Hahnsche Buchhandlung of Hannover and Leipzig has just published a third revised edition of Grotefend's *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1910, pp. 216). The first form of this work was a *Handbuch* of 1872, expanded after twenty years into three volumes, with the title *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*; the *Taschenbuch* is a later abridgment.

Duncker and Humblot, Leipzig, have just published volume I. of a second edition of the late K. Th. v. Inama-Sternegg's *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. It is more than twenty years since the appearance of the first volume of the first edition; the author had completed the revision just before his death. The volume comes to the end of the Carolingian period.

Upon the completion of G. Meyer von Knonau's *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, by the publication of the seventh volume (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1909, pp. iii, 413), B. Schmeidler publishes in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for June some brief but pointed reflections, reinforcing current criticisms as to the utility of the publication in its present form—criticisms complaining of excessive extent and cost, due partly to large citation, and of unsuccessful efforts to satisfy the demand of constituencies having differing needs.

Professor Karl Haupt of Heidelberg edits, under the title *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer*, a score of "Ungedruckte Briefe aus der Sammlung des Magisters Heinrich v. Isernis" (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1910, pp. 151). The letters are of interest for the *Kulturgeschichte* of the thirteenth century, as also for the personality of the somewhat elusive Heinrich. This particular *Formelsammlung* has been already worked over more than once (markedly in a Russian work of 1906–1907), but the editor points out some circumstances which explain the utility of further attention to it. Nearly one-half of the volume consists of biographical and historical introductions, and the text is copiously furnished with textual and historical notes.

Some important additions have recently been made to our knowledge of educational conditions in early modern Germany. Among the more interesting are the *Geschichte des Breslauer Schulwesens vor der Reformation* of Gustav Bauch (*Codex Diplomaticus Sillesiae*, t. XXV., Breslau, F. Hirt, 1909, pp. xii, 313), and the first part of Otto Kämmel's *Geschichte des Leipziger Schulwesens* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. xxv, 634).

The hundredth volume of the publications of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte assumes the character of a *Jubiläumsschrift*, and contains some important critical reviews by W. Friedensburg of the progress during the past twenty-five years in this field of research (Leipzig, R. Haupt, 1910, pp. xi, 348). O. Scheel contributes an exhaustive study of the early religious development of Luther.

Our knowledge of Luther's *Tischreden*, derived from the publication by W. Preger, in 1888, has been considerably amended and added to by E. Kroker in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (VII. 1) on the basis of a new manuscript.

Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago has nearly ready for printing by the Caxton Club a history of the Frankfort book fair of the sixteenth century.

The Prussian Historical Institute at Rome has published three more volumes of nunciatures. The first is volume V.-VI. of the first section, ed. Cardauns, containing documents relating to the legations of Alessandro Farnese and Cervini, the mission of Campeggio, and the nunciatures of Morone and Poggio in Germany, 1535-1541 (Berlin, A. Bath, 1909, pp. ci, 489, 416). The second is volume V. of the third section, ed. Schellhass, continuing the nunciature of Bartolommeo di Portia in South Germany, in 1575-1576 (*id.*, cxviii, 648). The third is volume XI. of the first section, *Nuntiatur des Bischofs Pietro Bertano von Fano, 1548-1549*, ed. Friedensburg (*id.*, liii, 863).

To the Bavarian Historical Commission's *Briefe und Acten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* the editor, Professor Walter Goetz of Tübingen, has added a new volume (pp. vii, 680), for the years 1623 and 1624, to the section on the political course of the Elector Maximilian I. and his allies. It prints 242 documents in full, with illustrative extracts from some two thousand others.

Volumes LXXXI. and LXXXII. of the *Publikationen aus den Kgl. Preuss. Staatsarchiven* (1908, 1909) contain a large installment of the correspondence of Frederic II. and Voltaire, edited by R. Koser and H. Droysen. The Prussian archives lately acquired a large number of the originals of Frederic's letters to Voltaire. Of the 293 now published, the archives possess the originals of 223. Very few of the originals of Voltaire's letters are accessible; but even here the new edition will mark a considerable advance in fullness and accuracy (especially as to chronology) over even the latest edition of Voltaire.

The firm of Carl Winter, Heidelberg, announces the immediate beginning of a series of *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, edited by Hermann Haupt, university librarian at Giessen, with the aid of Fr. Meinecke and others. The publication will be of indefinite extent and the first volume will be occupied mainly with the Jena Burschenschaft and with Heinrich von Gagern.

In the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* of Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken, appears a study of the *Finanzpolitik Bismarcks und der Parteien im Norddeutschen Bunde*, by Dr. Karl Zuchardt (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1910, pp. viii, 81). The writer contends that the inner history of the brief-lived Bund has been neglected and that its closer study will throw light on problems in the development of the empire.

Specially interesting contributions to our knowledge of later nineteenth-century German political conditions seem to be forthcoming in two books of reminiscences now in course of publication: the *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* of Julius von Eckhardt, journalist and consul, in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, and the *Lebenserinnerungen* of Ernst von Leyden in the *Deutsche Revue*.

The history of North Schleswig from the Prusso-Danish War to the present time, and especially the history of the struggle for the Germanization of that part of the duchy, and of the movements in opposition thereto, is recounted adequately and in a spirit of moderation by Mr. M. Mackeprang in his *Nordslesvig, 1864-1909* (Copenhagen, Gyl-dendal, 1910, pp. 319).

The Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde offers a prize of 5000 marks for the best one-volume study on the subject, "Die Rhein-provinz unter der Preussischen Verwaltung von 1815 bis zum Erlass der Verfassungsurkunde". The manuscripts are to be forwarded to Archivdirektor Professor Dr. Hansen at Cologne, by the first of March, 1914.

The *Württembergisches Urkundenbuch*, published by the royal archives in Stuttgart, has for some time been issued with new vigor under the editorship of Eugen Schneider and Gebhard Mehring. While from 1849 to 1903 only seven volumes appeared, three have been issued during the past six years, and the work is now near completion (the present undertaking will not be continued beyond 1300). The material has grown to an unmanageable extent, and vol. X. (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1909, pp. xiii, 616) covers only 1292-1296, while only 296 of 744 documents are given in full (347 were unpublished and for the most part unknown).

The directing council of the Austrian Imperial Archives decided in 1899 to undertake the publication of a series of inventories with the idea of establishing uniformity in such work as between the different provinces. The publication, long delayed, has now been begun with the inventory of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior, *Invontär des allgemeinen Archivs des Ministeriums des Innern* (Vienna, K. K. und Staatsdruckerei, 1909, pp. 95). The importance of the archives of this branch of the administration will be seen when we find them including the administrative documents of the chancery of Austria and Bohemia,

1762-1848, those of the royal Bohemian chancery, 1527-1749, and those of the Austrian chancery for various parts of the period before 1749.

As the centenary of the great Austrian national movement against Napoleon, the year 1909 has witnessed unusual historical activity in German Austria, especially with respect to the risings in the Austrian Alpine lands. The most prominent of the resulting studies are: J. Hirn, *Tirols Erhebung im J. 1809* (Innsbruck); H. v. Voltolini, *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tiroler Aufstandes im J. 1809* (Gotha); Chr. Meyer, *Die Erhebung Oesterreichs und insbesondere Tirols im J. 1809* (Dresden); F. M. Kirchseisen, *Feldzugserinnerungen aus dem Kriessjahre 1809* (Hamburg); F. Hirn, *Vorarlbergs Erhebung im J. 1809* (Bregenz). This new literature is reviewed in detail by S. M. Prem in *Mittheilungen des Inst. für Oesterr. Geschichtsforschung*, XXXI. 342-357.

Band C., part I., of the *Archiv für Oesterr. Geschichte* is entirely devoted to a study by Dr. Johann Nestor, *Die Moldauischen Ansprüche auf Pokutien* (pp. 182). Pokutia is the old name for the southeasterly part of Galicia, and the study deals with the period from 1387 to the end of the sixteenth century. It is accompanied by a map, a bibliography, and an index.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Keutgen, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Ministerialität* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, VIII.); G. Sommerfeldt, *Aus der Zeit der Begründung der Universität Wien* (*Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXX. 4); L. Arque, *La Foire de Leipzig dans les Temps Passés* (*La Science Sociale*, XXV. 69); N. Paulus, *Luther und die Todesstrafe für Ketzer* (*Historisch-Politische Blätter*, CXLIII. 3, 4); W. Stolze, *Neuere Literatur zum Bauernkriege* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CV. 1); K. Falkmaier, *Zur Geschichte der ersten Orientalischen Kompagnie* (*Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXX. 4); H. Ulmann, *Über eine neue Auffassung des Freiherrn vom Stein* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XIII. 2); M. Lehmann, *Aus der Geschichte der Preussischen Volksschule* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXL. 2); J. de Ferenczy, *La Presse Périodique en Hongrie* (*Revue de Hongrie*, April-May).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Manuel de Paléographie Néerlandaise* announced some time since has not yet been published, but Messrs. H. Brugmans and O. Oppermann are about to issue an *Atlas van Nederlandsche Paleographie*, comprising 39 reproductions of charters and other documents, 1100-1700, to be sold at 20 florins.

The archivist of Dordrecht has just published part I. of an inventory of the archives, *Inventaris van het Archief der Gemeente Dordrecht, I. De Gravelijke Tijd, 1200-1572* (Dordrecht, J. P. Revers, pp. 8, 272). About 700 documents and packets of documents are described.

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire, besides issuing the general supplement to the *Table Chronologique des Diplômes imprimés concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique*, the second volume of the *Documents sur la Principauté de Liège*, the second volume of the *Actes de l'Université de Louvain*, the third volume of the *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Industrie Drapière en Flandre*, the second volume of the early *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres*, and the second volume of the *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmédy*, will shortly issue a volume of censuses of the duchy of Brabant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ed. J. Cuvelier, an inventory of the Farnese archives at Naples, edd. Cauchie and Vander Essen, and a report on the materials for Belgian history in the imperial archives of Vienna, by J. Laenen. M. Henri Lonchay has been charged with the continuance of the *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, and MM. Cauchie and Vander Essen with the editing of the correspondence of the nuncio Ottavio Mirto Frangipani.

An important undertaking for Netherland medieval history is begun with the editing by M. Alphonse Verkooren, of the Belgian Archives Générales, of the first volume of an *Inventaire des Chartes et Cartulaires des Duchés de Brabant et de Limbourg et des Pays d'Outre-Meuse*, part 1. *Chartes, Originales et Vidimées* (Brussels, Hayez, 1910, pp. viii, 472). This volume furnishes a detailed analysis (giving proper names and full descriptions of seals) of 500 charters of the period 1154-1358 (only six of the twelfth century). They are of especial value for feudal conditions in these provinces. As the *chartrier* of Brabant in the Brussels archives is known to contain more than 25,000 charters, and there are more than 50 cartularies, the magnitude of this undertaking will be manifest.

As might be expected from a scholar of his eminence, M. Godefroid Kurth's *La Cité de Liège au Moyen Age* (Brussels, Dewit, 3 vols., pp. lxxi, 322; viii, 345; vii, 417), published in elaborate style, is much more than a medieval history of a single important town; it is a masterly work, deserving the attention of all who are interested in the history of the medieval commune.

The Sturgis and Walton Company announce that they will publish during the autumn a history of the late King Leopold II. of Belgium, the work of A. S. Rappoport.

Two Belgian folklorists, MM. A. de Cock and I. Teirlinck, have edited for the Royal Flemish Academy the first volume of a work on the popular legends of the Flemish part of Brabant, *Brabantsch Sagenboek*, pt. 1.: *Mythologische Sagen; Duivelsagen* (Ghent, A. Siffer, pp. xxxii, 308). The volume comprises an introduction, 198 mythological legends, and 51 narratives involving the Devil. About 90 of the legends have been collected by the editors directly from the people, but the greater part were already in print. The notes are extensive.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. de Jongh, *La Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Louvain au XV^e Siècle et au Commencement du XVI^e: Ses Débuts, son Organisation, son Enseignement* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); H. E. van Gelder, *Eene Noordhollandsche Stad (Alkmaar) 1500-1540* (Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidskunde, IV.).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

At the expense of the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich, Mr. K. Voëvsky has brought out the first volume of a collection of materials relating to the political and internal life in Russia in 1812: *Akty, Dokumenty i Materialy dlia Politicheskoi i Bytovoï Istorii 1812* (St. Petersburg, 1909).

H. Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1909, pp. vii, 128). This volume is a posthumous publication of work originally intended for an encyclopaedia.

Dr. Jean Ebersolt has based chiefly on the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus two valuable productions attempting to reconstruct the archaeology of Sta. Sophia and of the imperial palace, the two structures most important to Byzantine history, *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople: Étude de Topographie d'après les Cérémonies*, and *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1910, pp. iv, 41, and xv, 240, with plans).

Mr. Francis McCullagh's *The Fall of Abdul-Hamid* (London, Methuen) is a brilliant account, by a journalist of Young Turk sympathies, having the best opportunities of observation and conference, of the events of the recent revolution in the Ottoman Empire and of their results.

A Bulgarian scholar, Étienne Bobtchev, has published a history of the ancient Bulgarian law (Sofia, 1910, pp. x, 560), including canon law.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

To celebrate the third centenary of the death of Father Matteo Ricci, the celebrated Jesuit missionary in China, Father Tacchi Venturi, S. J., is preparing for publication the original Italian text of the *Commentari*, recently discovered and important for many matters of Chinese scholarship, and a second volume, devoted to the missionary's letters.

An English translation of Papinot (see this REVIEW, XIII. 151) has appeared under the title *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan* (Tokyo, Librairie Sansaisha, 1909).

The Marquess of Dalhousie, governor-general of India from 1847 to 1856, forbade the publication of his private papers until fifty years after his death. That period having now elapsed, Messrs. Blackwood and Sons will publish in October *The Private Letters of the Marquess*

of *Dalhousie*, written confidentially from India to his oldest friend, Sir George Couper.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Since the last issue of this journal the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, as noted on another page, has brought out Dr. James A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries*. Professor Fish's *Guide to Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* is in page-proof, and indexing has begun. Professor Allison's *Inventory of Unpublished Material for American Religious History in Protestant Church Archives and Other Repositories* is in galley-proof. Professor Paxson has completed the period of three months during which he was to labor in London in the preparation of the proposed Guide to the Materials for United States History since 1783 in the British Archives; Dr. Paullin continues for two or three months longer.

D. Appleton and Company announce that *The American Year-Book* for 1910, of which Professor Albert Bushnell Hart is chairman of the board of supervisors and Mr. S. N. D. North is managing editor, will be published in February, 1911.

The Government Printing Office has recently issued *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909*, the first complete edition of United States treaties published since 1889.

The Imperial Publishing Company are responsible for a work in five volumes, profusely illustrated, which bears the title: *The United States of America: a Pictorial History of the American Nation from the Earliest Discoveries and Settlements to the Present Time*. The names of William T. Harris, Edward Everett Hale, Nelson A. Miles, O. P. Austin, and George Cary Eggleston appear as editors of the work.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company announce a new and cheaper edition of Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic of the United States*.

Alexander Johnston's *History of American Politics*, revised and enlarged by Professor W. M. Sloane and continued by W. M. Daniels, has been brought out by Holt in the series *Handbooks for Students and General Readers*.

In *The Public Domain and Democracy* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXXVIII., no. 1, pp. 240) Mr. Robert T. Hill studies from the point of view of present-day sociology those social, economic, and political problems of the development of the United States which are most closely associated with the development of the national land system.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce that they will shortly publish a work entitled *The Commercial Power of Congress considered in the Light of its Origin*, by D. W. Brown.

Mrs. William T. Forbes of 23 Trowbridge Road, Worcester, Massachusetts, intends to prepare for publication a list of published and unpublished diaries useful for historical purposes, written by New Englanders before 1800, with data exhibiting the period covered in each case and the circumstances under which the author wrote. She will be glad to know of additional items.

Henry Holt and Company announce a series of volumes entitled *Leading American Men of Science*, edited by President David S. Jordan of Stanford University. In this series Count Rumford, Alexander Wilson, Audubon, Silliman, Henry, Agassiz, Jeffries Wyman, Asa Gray, Dana, Baird, O. C. Marsh, Cope, Gibbs, Newcomb, Goode, Rowland, and Brooks will be treated by writers for the most part of assured competence.

Rev. Henry A. Brann has published a *History of the American College of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States, Rome, Italy* (St. Louis, Benziger, pp. 570).

The issue of the *German American Annals* for March and April prints a German translation of William Penn's letter to the Free Society of Merchants in London in 1683, contributed by Professor Marion D. Learned. The text of the letter is in the Royal Privy Archives in Munich. The same issue of the *Annals* prints Director Johan Rising's report to the Commercial College, dated at Christiana in New Sweden, June 14, 1655. The document, which was discovered by Dr. Amandus Johnson in the Kammararkiv in 1906, describes the condition of the colony shortly before the overthrow of the Swedish power. An English translation of this report will appear in the Pennsylvania volume of the *Original Narrative* series. Mr. W. G. Bek's papers on "The Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its Offspring at Aurora, Oregon", are concluded in this issue of the *Annals*.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois has performed a valuable service by publishing a thorough examination and exposure of the Kensington Runestone, in a pamphlet of that title (pp. 43), separately printed from the *Publications* of the Illinois State Historical Library.

James Hadden of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, has set himself the task of writing a short and comprehensive account of *Washington's Expeditions (1753-1754)* and *Braddock's Expedition (1755)*, together with a history of Tom Fasset, "the Slayer of General Edward Braddock". The result is a slender volume made up of materials gathered

from secondary sources, poorly correlated and containing frequent repetitions. The proof-reading has also been inexcusably careless and the English is painfully faulty.

It is announced that Sir George Otto Trevelyan intends to finish his *History of the American Revolution* by an additional volume, written on a different plan and with a different method of treatment from that followed in the preceding volumes. The new volume will deal mainly with the English (especially the Parliamentary) and the European aspects of the Revolution.

Professor D. D. Wallace of Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C., has been for two years occupied with a life of Henry Laurens. He would be glad if persons having material on the subject with which he is not likely to meet would call his attention to any such additions to his sources.

The sixth volume of Mr. Charles Evans's *American Bibliography*, just issued by him, covers the period from 1779 to 1785, and records 3272 books, pamphlets, etc., printed within the limits of the present United States.

Professor A. J. Morrison of Hampden Sidney College intends shortly to issue by subscription, through the publishing office of Samuel N. Rhoads of Philadelphia, a translation of Johann David Schoepf's *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen Vereinigten Nordamerikanischen Staaten, 1783-1784* (Erlangen, 1788), a book of importance because of the unusual scientific acquirements of the writer. The title of the translation will be *Travels in the Confederation*.

A correspondent calls our attention to the interesting body of letters in the British Public Record Office, F. O. Rec. Am., first series, C-J, written secretly by one P. Allaire, in New York, 1785-1791, and by him sent to Sir George Yonge, then Secretary at War. The letters were written monthly, extend to some five hundred pages of manuscript, were prepared by a paid agent, and convey an interesting and fairly accurate body of American news. Our correspondent thinks them worthy the attention of an editor or publication agency.

Professor Max Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, the prospective publication of which by the Yale University Press was announced in a former number of this journal, will be issued this autumn, in three royal octavo volumes of about 600 pages each. Besides the regular edition, there will be a subscribers' edition, on large paper, limited to not more than 250 copies.

Anyone wishing a luminous and brief account of our early experiments with a central bank may well refer to a recent publication of the National Monetary Commission, *The First and Second Banks of the United States*, by Professor John T. Holdsworth of the University of Pittsburgh, and Professor Davis R. Dewey of the Massachusetts Insti-

tute of Technology (61 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Doc. no. 571*, pp. 311). Though written with due regard to previous and more elaborate books, such as Catterall's, both are the result of independent study and reflection; both have appendixes of the important documents.

Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick of the Library of Congress has discovered a copy of the *Baltimore Patriot and Evening Advertiser* of September 20, 1814, containing a copy of "The Star Spangled Banner", and a photographic reproduction of the page of the paper on which the song appears is to be printed by the Burrows Brothers in Avery's *History of the United States and its People*. It is usually stated that the first publication of the song in a newspaper was on September 21 in the *Baltimore American*.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt has issued the ninth and concluding volume of his *Writings of James Madison*, covering the years 1819-1836.

The *Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency*, edited by Mr. Milo M. Quaife, has now been issued in four handsome volumes, by Messrs. A. C. McClurg and Company.

Professor W. L. Fleming's papers, *Jefferson Davis at West Point*, which appeared in the publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, and *The Religious Life of Jefferson Davis*, which was published in the *Methodist Review*, have both been issued as bulletins of the Louisiana State University.

A History of the Republican National Conventions from 1856 to 1908 (pp. 408), by John Tweedy, has been brought out in Danbury, Connecticut, by the author.

Mr. John Formby's *The American Civil War: a Concise History of its Causes, Progress, and Results* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. 520) is an English attempt to cover the history of the war in moderate compass and without undue dwelling upon technical military details. Besides the volume of text there is one of maps.

Captain James H. Wood of Bristol, Virginia, is the author of a small volume entitled *The War: Stonewall Jackson, his Campaigns and Battles: the Regiment as I saw them*—an awkward title. The author was a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute at the outbreak of the war and followed Jackson through his campaigns to Chancellorsville. Most of the book is concerned with this period but it continues the narrative to the battle of Spottsylvania Courthouse, where the writer was taken prisoner and sent to Fort Delaware. The value of the book, such as it has, is in the narration of incidents coming under the author's personal observation.

A book containing accounts of the campaigns of the 155th Pennsylvania regiment, narrated by members of the rank and file, has been brought out in Pittsburgh by the regimental association. The book bears the cumbersome title, *Under the Maltese Cross: Antietam to Appomattox: the Loyal Uprising in Western Pennsylvania, 1861-1865*.

It is a peculiar fact that although six thousand copies of the journal of the Reconstruction Committee of the Thirty-Ninth Congress were ordered to be printed, only one copy, that in the possession of the Superintendent of Documents, is known to exist. Recently a manuscript copy of the journal in the writing of George A. Mark, one of the clerks of the committee, was discovered by Mr. B. B. Kendrick and is now in the library of Columbia University. The manuscript, eighty-six pages in extent, appears to have been drawn up from notes taken during the sittings of the committee and to have been used as a basis for the printed text. The document will be published by Mr. Kendrick in an appendix to a monograph upon which he is engaged dealing with the reconstruction policy as worked out by the committee.

A Sketch of the Life and Services of Vice Admiral Stephen C. Rowan, by Stephen C. Ayres, has been issued in Cincinnati by W. R. Thrall.

The United States Catholic Historical Society has published the *Diary of a Visit to the United States of America in the Year 1873*, by Charles Lord Russell of Killowen, late Lord Chief Justice of England, with an introduction by the Rev. Matthew Russell, S. J. The volume is edited by Dr. C. G. Herbermann. At the time of this visit (August to October, 1873) the author of the diary was simply Charles Russell and accompanied Lord Coleridge, then Lord Chief Justice of England. The party made the journey across the continent by way of Niagara Falls, Chicago, and the Northern Pacific Railroad, just completed, and returned from San Francisco by way of Salt Lake City, Denver, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Washington. The diary is essentially a series of letters written expressly for the members of Lord Russell's family and describes such scenes and experiences and records such impressions as would especially interest them. The writer met many persons of note in politics and finance, and his frank characterization of them as well as his intelligent comment on conditions as he saw them are instructive and refreshing. His remarks upon the character of American oratory as displayed on the occasion of the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad are particularly interesting. The editor has not been quite careful enough in eliminating typographical and other errors, and has probably been too sparing of explanatory foot-notes.

Messrs. B. W. Dodge and Company announce for autumn publication the *Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt*, in two volumes, consisting of reminiscences gathered together for book form just before his death.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities has been organized, with Mr. Charles K. Bolton as president, Mr. William Sumner Appleton as corresponding secretary, and Mr. William C. Endi-

cott as treasurer. The membership dues are to be used to obtain possession of houses of historic interest. The society purposes also to establish and maintain in Boston a museum of smaller antiquities. A bulletin containing information of interest will be issued from time to time and a series of records containing more detailed accounts of property acquired will be published. The address of the corresponding secretary is 20 Beacon street, Boston, that of the treasurer is Danvers, Massachusetts.

In a pamphlet published by Bowdoin College Mr. Robert Hale treats interestingly of *Early Days of Church and State in Maine* (pp. 52), taking Brunswick and the Pejepscot tract as the chief typical example.

We have received a careful and interesting account of the *Manuscript Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, reprinted from the fourth volume of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*.

The Massachusetts Historical Society issues in one serial its *Proceedings* for three meetings, April through June, 1910. It contains, among other historical material, an account of "The Great Secession Winter, 1860-1861", written at the time by Henry Adams, then serving as secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams. It describes the anxiety of Seward to retain the loyalty of the border states, and gives a novel picture of Maryland politics at the time. Mr. Charles Francis Adams has an original paper on "The Neglect of Washington to Use Cavalry in the Revolution". Colonel W. R. Livermore has a continuation of his essays on "Comparative History of Western Nations" with maps; and Mr. Sanborn deals again with St. John de Crèvecoeur. Of original material the serial contains a document on John White's Dorchester Company at Cape Anne, 1635; a series of letters addressed to Joseph Willard, president of Harvard University, and letters on the defence of the Massachusetts frontier, 1649-1695; a letter from William B. Lewis to Jackson on his being asked to resign from office; and a series of letters from the Savage Papers.

Volume XX. of *The Early Records of the Town of Providence* (City Printers, 1909, pp. v, 549) contains the first half of the contents of "Deed Book no. 2", continuing vol. XIV. with records of deeds and returns of "layouts" from 1705 to 1711.

The librarian's report included in the *Annual Report* of the Connecticut Historical Society (May, 1910) contains a brief description of the new and newly equipped rooms of the society and a list of the manuscripts acquired by the society during the year. The society has now in press, to be issued as the thirteenth volume of its series of *Collections*, a second volume of *Correspondence and Documents during Jonathan Law's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1741-1750*. It is expected to embrace the period from August, 1745, to March, 1747, and to be issued early in the ensuing year.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, state historian of New York, has distributed volume III. of the *Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions, 1778-1781* (Albany, 1910, pp. 268). This is an ingeniously contrived analytical index, of 268 pages in double columns, completing the set. He has also sent to the State Printing Board the manuscript for two volumes of the *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668-1673*, carefully annotated, and enriched with collateral and illustrative documents more than equalling in bulk the text of the Minutes themselves. He has also completed the copy for a publication in three or four volumes of the Minutes of the Committee of the City and County of Albany, 1775-1778, a committee of safety of far-reaching influence in New York during this period.

By authority of the state of New York the *Messages from the Governors, 1683-1907*, in eleven volumes, have been published through the J. B. Lyon Company of Albany. The editor of the volumes is Mr. Charles Z. Lincoln, who has supplied an historical introduction to each volume and also many foot-notes. The eleventh volume of the series is a comprehensive index to the whole.

The series of records in the office of the state comptroller at Albany, called "Manuscripts of the Colony and State of New York in the Revolutionary War", 52 volumes in 55, which forms the basis of *New York in the Revolution as Colony and State* (Albany, 1897, 2d ed. 1898, supplement 1901), has recently been transferred to the manuscripts section of the State Library. As a result the State Library now has practically all the important series of records in the possession of the state relative to the service of her inhabitants in the Revolution. From the same office were transferred a number of records, referred to as "Records of the War of 1812" but containing also a number of papers relating to roads and bridges, field artillery, fortifications on the northern and western frontiers, fortifications in New York harbor, all from the last decade of the eighteenth century; arsenals and military stores, 1795-1821, though for the most part relating to the war; the Council of Appointment, 1807-1817; accounts of the state with the United States, 1818-1826; Indians (accounts, treaties, etc.), 1783-1816. The papers which refer to the War of 1812 and which comprise the bulk of this collection are for the most part accounts of the governor, paymasters, and commissaries; but there are some items relating to payments to American prisoners of war, Niagara sufferers, etc. No muster rolls of the militia are found but there are a number of enlistment papers of men who served in the corps of sea fencibles.

Father Fritz J. Zwierlein, professor of ecclesiastical history in the Seminary of St. Bernard, at Rochester, New York, has printed, as his dissertation for the doctor's degree at the University of Louvain, *Re-*

ligion in New Netherland: a History of the Development of the Religious Conditions in the Province of New Netherland (1623-1664) (Rochester, Smith, 1910, pp. vi, 351).

The firm of Brown Brothers and Company of New York has printed an account of its history and that of its allied firms, with the title *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking*.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired a large body of manuscript material relating to Benjamin West, containing no less than 313 letters or manuscripts in West's autograph, and 532 autograph letters addressed to him, besides original drawings, portraits of West, and other engravings.

The Antietam and its Bridges: the Annals of an Historic Stream, by Helen Ashe Hays, although largely descriptive in character, possesses a measure of historical interest.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* for July prints from the Randolph manuscript the council proceedings, 1681-1683. These proceedings relate principally to the cutting of tobacco plants by mobs and read much like a chapter in the history of Kentucky night-riding. Under the caption "Virginia Legislative Papers" appear a number of petitions from dissenters in 1776 against the established church. There is another group of documents, largely petitions, of the years 1770-1774, and another, of the years 1658-1662, including minutes of the Council for Foreign Plantations.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* will print during 1911, as the most important element in its contents, the minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia from 1623 to 1627, from the original manuscript now preserved in the Library of Congress. It had been intended that these minutes should be included in a third volume, to be published by the Library of Congress as a supplement to the two volumes of the *Records of the Virginia Company*, but the matter will now be undertaken by the Virginia Historical Society.

In 1898 the Southern History Association published a fairly good index of Bishop Meade's *Old Churches*, etc., of Virginia. In ignorance of this fact, or ignoring it in his preface, Mr. J. C. Wise has printed at Richmond, for subscribers, a pamphlet of 114 pages, entitled *Wise's Digested Index and Genealogical Guide to Bishop Meade's Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*. It is somewhat more ample than its predecessor, the effort being made to supply first names of persons whom Bishop Meade indicated only by the surname. The index is a curiosity in one particular, that "Vol. I.", "Vol. II.", etc., is printed in full each time instead of the customary I, II. Thus the symbol "vol." is needlessly reprinted some seven thousand times.

It is hoped that the city of Richmond will soon give to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities the custody of the

Richmond house of Chief Justice John Marshall, in which case it will be preserved as a memorial and a museum of relics connected with his life.

Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, state historian and archivist, has published in a volume entitled *How West Virginia was Made* (Charleston, Public Printer, pp. 337, xii) the proceedings of the first convention of the people of Northwestern Virginia, at Wheeling, May 13-15, 1861, and the journal of the second Wheeling convention, June 11-25, August 6-21, 1861, with an historical introduction and with an annalistic appendix.

The June issue of the *John P. Branch Historical Papers* contains short biographies of Edmund Ruffin (1794-1865), Dr. W. H. Ruffner (1824-1908), and General Robert B. Taylor (1774-1834). Ruffin is known chiefly as an agricultural leader and writer but also wrote some political pamphlets; Ruffner is distinguished as the father of Virginia's public free-school system, and Taylor was a brigadier-general in the War of 1812 and an active member of the Virginia convention of 1829. The biographies are by Henry G. Ellis, E. L. Fox, and W. B. Elliott, respectively.

The important article in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* for July is the Loyalist Colonel Robert Gray's Observations on the War in Carolina, written in 1782.

Charles H. Coe of Langdon, D. C., is the author and publisher of *Red Patriots: the Story of the Seminoles*.

Before his death Professor John R. Ficklen had written a *History of Reconstruction in Louisiana*, which has now been brought out as one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science. The history begins with 1858 and closes with 1868.

A volume on the history of the Republic of Texas, preliminary to an elaborate history of the Mexican War, will be published this autumn by Professor Justin H. Smith, formerly of Dartmouth University.

"Recognition of the Republic of Texas by the United States" is the title of a study by Ethel Z. Rather, which occupies the pages of the January number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*. In addition to printed materials the author has used the Austin papers in possession of the University of Texas, the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas, manuscript and printed, the Jackson and Van Buren papers in the Library of Congress, and some others. The study does not profess to be complete but it has been prepared with care and unifies much scattered material. To the April number of the same periodical Dr. Eugene C. Barker contributes a valuable paper on "Stephen F. Austin and the Independence of Texas", prepared principally from manuscript sources. The same number prints three accounts of the Bexar and Dawson prisoners, edited by E. W. Winkler.

The pages of the April-June issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* are occupied with selections from the papers of Oran Follett in possession of the society. At the time when these letters were written (1830-1833) Follett was editor of the *Buffalo Daily Journal*, and among his correspondents were Azariah C. Flagg, Joseph Hoxie, Duff Green, and Henry Clay. The letters are of considerable political interest.

The July issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a number of articles of general interest. The reminiscences of Thomas Rogers, a pioneer of Ohio, edited by Clement L. Martzoff, occupy a prominent place; Professor Benjamin F. Prince contributes a paper on Joseph Vance and his times; General H. B. Carrington writes of General Winfield Scott's visit to Columbus in 1852; N. B. C. Love gives a sketch of Russell Bigelow, the pioneer pulpit orator; and E. O. Randall writes an account of Washington's Ohio lands.

Professor Harlow Lindley has in preparation a preliminary report on the public archives of the state of Indiana.

In the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for June is a contribution by Julia S. Conklin on "The Underground Railroad in Indiana." There is also a bibliography of town and city histories in the Indiana State Library, by Lillian E. Henley, and an index of historical articles in Indiana newspapers, March to May, 1910, by Florence Venn.

In a pamphlet on *The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana* (pp. 88), published by the Indiana Historical Society as number 8 of its fourth volume, Professor James A. Woodburn treats specifically of the psalm-singing Presbyterians of Bloomington and the immediate vicinity. His remarks on the classification of the Scotch-Irish, and indeed his whole pamphlet, bear marks of thought and of general historical knowledge which raise it much above the level common to publications of the sort, and give to his account of these Presbyterians, their characteristics, and their practices in church and state, a quality much beyond the annalistic.

Three Wisconsin Cushings: a Sketch of the Lives of Howard B., Alonzo H., and William B. Cushing, Children of a Pioneer Family of Waukesha County (pp. xiv, 109), by Theron Wilber Haight, is a recent issue of the Wisconsin History Commission. All three brothers performed gallant services in the Civil War, two of them in the army, the other (William B. Cushing) in the navy. The interest of the volume is largely personal and local, yet the record of three careers of such worth in a single family gives to these sketches something of a general interest.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* includes a paper on the trial of John Brown, read by George E. Caskie before the Virginia State Bar Association in 1909, and an account by Captain W. A. Duck-

worth of the escape of some Iowa soldiers from the Confederate prison at Shreveport, Louisiana.

In the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* J. M. Greenwood concludes his papers on Colonel Robert T. Van Horn, and F. A. Sampson contributes a bibliography of Missouri state publications for 1908 and 1909. In the July number Thomas J. Bryant gives an account of "Bryant's Station and its Founder, William Bryant", Herman C. Smith discourses on "Mormon Troubles in Missouri", and G. C. Broadhead writes concerning the Santa Fé Trail. Miss Minnie Organ's "History of the County Press" is concluded in the same issue.

The Missouri Historical Society has received as a gift from Mrs. Henry Kayser a collection of 54 letters written to the late Henry Kayser in the years 1838-1846, by Robert E. Lee, who had been associated with him in engineering work upon St. Louis harbor. The letters will be published in book form, edited by Hon. Shepard Barclay.

The Arkansas Historical Association will issue the third volume of its publications in January. Some of the most important chapters will be: A History of the Constitution of 1836, by Jessie Turner; Legal Status of Slaves in Arkansas prior to the Civil War, by Judge Jacob Treber; Life of Chester Ashley, by Judge U. M. Rose; and articles on Indian Trails in Arkansas, and on the old military roads.

A paper by Frederick V. Holman entitled "Oregon Counties: their Creations and the Origins of their Names" forms the principal contents of the March issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*. The history includes accounts of the earlier territorial districts.

The library of the Leland Stanford University has acquired the Jarboe collection of books and pamphlets relating to the French Revolution, chiefly of the period from 1789 to 1793. The collection consists of about 2500 titles, amounting to about 3000 volumes, and is composed almost wholly of original material.

The United States Consulate in California, by R. W. Kelsey, appears among the publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. The monograph is the story of the consulate under T. O. Larkin, appointed in 1844, the only appointee who ever actually served.

The Historical Society of Southern California is soon to have a substantial building of its own at Los Angeles.

In the series of *Bulletins* of the Canadian Archives, no. 2, now in press, is an inventory of the 1847 volumes and 350 portfolios of the military documents (C series), prepared by Lieut.-Col. Cruikshank. No. 6 will be the journal of John McDonald, agent of the Northwest Company about 1794, upon a journey to Qu'Appelle.

"Inventaire Chronologique des Cartes, Plans, Atlas, relatifs à la Nouvelle-France et à la Province de Québec, 1508-1908", by Dr. N. E.

Dionne, constitutes the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Historical Society of Canada*, third series, volume LI., part II. More than 1200 items are listed, prefaced by a valuable introduction, seventeen pages in extent.

The third report of the archivist of the province of Ontario, Mr. Alexander Fraser, consists of the minutes of the Land Board of the Western District; the fourth, of the proclamations of the governors of Upper Canada. The fifth will be a large illustrated volume by Father Arthur Jones, S. J., on the Huron and the Indian village sites visited by the early missionaries; the sixth will probably reproduce in facsimile, with notes, the archaeological and ethnological books left in manuscript by Father Potier, the missionary.

The March and April issue of *Revista Bimestre Cubana* contains, besides a continuation of "Historia de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de la Habana", a paper by Fernando Ortiz entitled "Las Rebeliones de las Afro-Cubanos" and a list, printed from a manuscript in the Biblioteca del Conde de Fernandina, of the Spanish ships lost during the wars with England in the eighteenth century.

Under the title *Mi Mando en Cuba*, vol. I. (Madrid, Rojas, pp. 496) Captain-General Weyler tells with much frankness and with the text of many important documents the story of his governorship of Cuba.

E. P. Dutton and Company expect to issue during the autumn *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*, by C. H. Haring. It is understood that the author has made extensive use of documents preserved in London and Paris which have not before been used in the treatment of this subject.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. R. Fish, *American History in Roman Archives* (Catholic World, August); S. G. Morley, *The Correlation of Maya and Christian Chronology* (American Journal of Archaeology, April-June); E. Daenell, *Zu den deutschen Handelsunternehmungen in Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XIII. 2); H. U. Williams, *The Epidemic of the Indians of New England, 1616-1620, with Remarks on Native American Infections* (Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, November, 1909); W. T. Laprade, *Newspapers as a Source for the History of American Slavery* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); R. B. Falkner, *American Relations with Liberia, 1822-1910* (American Journal of International Law, July); D. Y. Thomas, *Banking in the Territory of Florida* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July).